

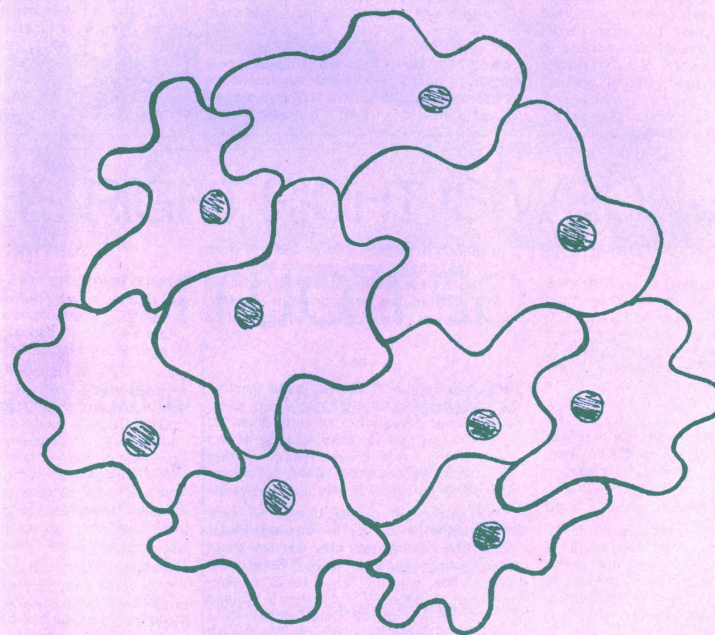
WORKERS' CO-OPERATIVES: A CRITIQUE p12

peace news

for nonviolent revolution

No. 2055 Friday 21 October 1977

Fortnightly Price 15p



A CELLULAR ORGANISM

Murray Bookchin: pages 10 & 11

from rim to core

The Seabrook occupation was more than an episodic break in a frustrating period of social passivity and cultural decadence. Quixotically, at a time when our society has rarely seemed so enervated—indeed, so distasteful to itself—the Clamshell Alliance and the Seabrook occupation have gone beyond a bold renewal of a decade-old tradition of social activism and spiritual vigour. Taken together, the Alliance and the occupation express a remarkable degree of social sophistication over the movements of the 60s. Clamshell is not merely a return to the élan of the civil rights and anti-war movements, nor can its efforts to stop the construction of nuclear reactors be regarded as just another episode in a rather pedestrian series of efforts to “clean up” the environment. The very structure of the Clamshell Alliance and its methods of functioning enter as much into its success as the uncompromising goals it has established for itself. This remarkable unity of form and content is part of a process of evolution that has gone largely unnoticed since the late 60s, one that could well resolve key issues that were opened by the social activists of a decade ago.

To those of us who witnessed the grotesque immolation of “The Movement” by Third World voyeurism, ideological dogmatism, sectarian arrogance, and a total inability to communicate with the majority of Americans, a deep sense of frustration lingered on after the 60s—one that involved not simply a knowledge of failure (for even defeat can be ennobling and inspirational), but rather a gnawing sense of incompleteness. Even more gnawing were the unresolved issues that lingered on: a problem not of “what had happened” but of what could have happened if the libertarian mood of the mid-60s had not been disrupted, but had developed, and solidified; if the movements which had expressed this mood had become self-conscious of their methods; if the counterculture had developed an authentic integrity and social purpose; and finally, if “The Movement” and the counterculture could have addressed themselves to the real concerns of the American people.

OUT OF THE DESERT

My point is that the relevant social activism was not simply destroyed; its evolution was interrupted and diverted. As we can now see, it did not entirely disappear but found an “underground” life of its own in communal efforts around food co-operatives, women's groups, communes, radical ecology groups, and neighbourhood work. While authoritarian sects seemed to pre-empt the landscape deserted by the 60s movements, these communal efforts were incubating the newer forms and goals that were to be expressed by the Seabrook occupation. In this respect, the Clamshell Alliance has reopened the agenda for social change. They have cleared the table of the dogmatism, sectarianism, and elitism. They have asked in action those poignant questions that linger on in the bad conscience of the older activists who surrendered their high-mindedness for cynicism and their radical commitments for a self-indulgent careerism.

The first issue which the Clamshell Alliance and the Seabrook occupation have reopened is that of nonviolent direct action. I cannot profess to be a pacifist; but given the realities which the occupiers of the Seabrook site faced, I can see no other approach but nonviolence. More significantly, the Clamshell Alliance utilised direct action—hopefully, more as a social policy than as a mere strategem limited to the issue of nuclear power. The sense of helplessness that derives from the deep-seated feeling that people can no longer control their own lives—much less their social destiny—is the historic malaise of our era. The body politic, once a physical reality of active individuals who directly governed their social lives, has been debased into passive “citizens” and ultimately into inert “taxpayers”. As a result of this dissolution, we have suffered a loss not only of “politics” in the high Hellenic sense of the term and in the traditional American sense of the town

meeting, but we bear witness to a subversion of personality itself, a loss of that social being so integral to selfhood that without it we cannot conceivably be authentic human beings.

Direct action arrests this subversion. By actively reentering into the formulation of social policy, the individual recovers her or his social being, sense of power over events, and meaning as an active human being. For any society that has become inert to the point where it is no longer truly social, where the market has become the model for social life and the consumer the model for citizenship, the act of radical intervention into events is more than an antidote to the malaise; it is literally an expression of spiritual recovery and social health. Conceived as a policy and a “strategic” practise, indeed as a conception of social life, direct action is self-management and self-activity in the social sense of self-reconstitution and selfhood. In placing direct action on the agenda of social action, the Clamshell Alliance and the Seabrook occupiers have picked up an almost sacred thread that was torn from the political fabric of the last decades by elitist groups of all persuasions, be they acolytes of Marx and Lenin, or of Jimmy Carter and Jerry Brown.

The second issue which the Clamshell Alliance and Seabrook occupiers have reopened is that of libertarian organisation. The Alliance is not a contrived apparatus of leaders fleshed out by a membership. It is a cellular organism composed of “affinity groups” of ten to twenty individuals structured from “rim” to “core” like a wheel rather than a hierarchical pyramid. Whatever the Clamshell Alliance may conceive itself to be, its practise is anarchist: it is a practise that has again established its capacity to function with incredible efficiency, co-ordination, and effectiveness. The vital flow of life back and forth from affinity groups to core, the intense sense of



Clamshell Alliance occupies Seabrook Nuclear Construction Site.



Seabrook affinity group meeting.

community that knits together all the groups internally as well as externally has no parallel in the party structure so favoured by "radicals" today. Clamshell has again brought the 60s social activists into confrontation with their consciences and has raised the abiding issue of organisation—not merely as a "means" to a social end, but as an expression of that end, the goal of a free non-hierarchical society in the fullest sense of the term.

NO COMPROMISES

Finally, the Clamshell Alliance and the Seabrook occupiers have become the visible conscience of the flaccid environmentalist movement, a "movement" that was hardly born before it was aborted. The journey from Paul Ehrlich's "Zero Population Growth" to Jerry Brown's political circus has so completely blanketed the history of this movement—and its bouquet of technocrats, systems analysts, and entrepreneurs have so shamelessly co-opted it—that one can scarcely remember that early span of time when ecology could be regarded as an expression of social conscience if not flaming rebellion. The Clamshell Alliance and the Seabrook occupiers have redeemed this brief heroic period. They have done so on a terrain that does not lend itself to co-optation but rather to an inexorable conflict: an unnegotiable demand, to be expressed by direct action, for the total cessation of nuclear power plant construction. This uncompromising demand aims implicitly at the heart of the system as surely as a challenge to the market economy.

The Clamshell Alliance will ultimately be asked if its goals are "broad-based" enough so that they can be compared with the anti-war movement of the 60s. Actually it is never an immediate "goal" that determines the breadth of a movement or its direction but rather the logic of the goal, however seemingly limited. Josef Weber once observed that the crisis of capitalism is so profound that one can reach its centre from any facet. Goals as sweeping as "socialism" or "anarchism" can be very narrow—indeed ritualistic metaphors—if they fail to create an arena in which discussion expands the living content of the goal, action gives it concreteness, and solidarity gives it humanity. By contrast, goals as "narrow" as clean air can be very broad if they create a public domain that follows through the logic of pollution to competition, capital accumulation, and the market economy.

The real issue Clamshell must face, for the present, is not so much its goals, its allies, or even its organisation, but the thrust and scope or the consciousness it is seeking to awaken. Incomplete knowledge is more treacherous than the most naive innocence, just as incomplete revolutions yield more

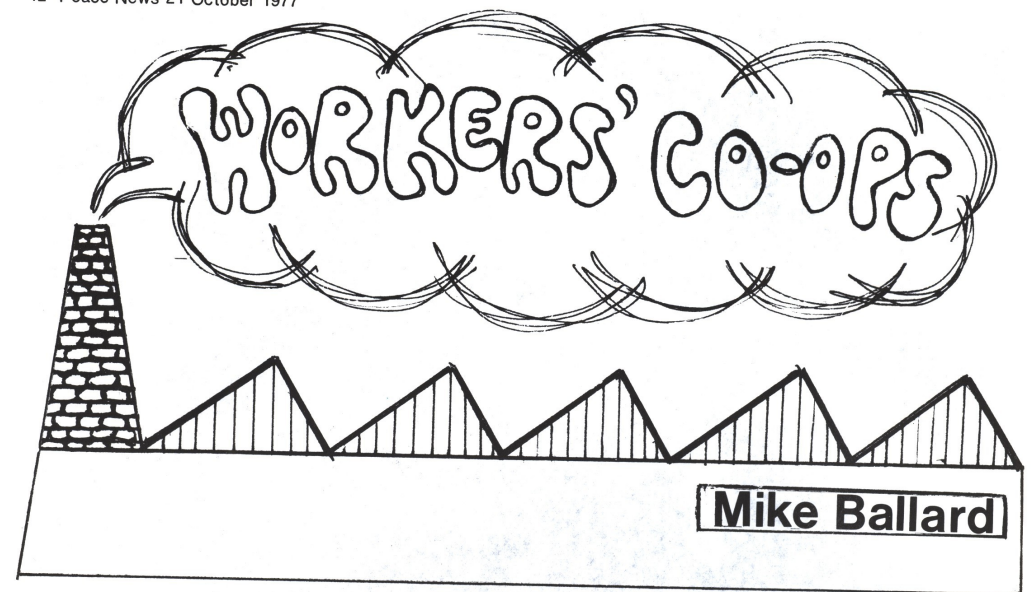
repressive counter-revolutions than outright failures. The Clamshell Alliance must fight for emancipation from the very social elitism that produced the nuclear reactor problem in the first place—and it must *know* this. The implicit nature of its structure must become part of its explicit goals, of its very self-awareness, of the libertarian tradition from which it stems. No surrender to "expediency", effectiveness", "influence", or "success" can be permitted to deter it from this self-conscious practice without de-naturing it into another obstacle in the way of freedom. Truth abides in itself, in the lasting ideal of a free humanity, not in the given "opinions" and "values" of the moment. To the accusation that it is a "rural" movement, "anti-technological" and "anti-labour" because the nuclear industry creates jobs, Clamshell must hold to the inherent truth of its demands. War, too, creates jobs and advances technology, and more than one war earned the support of workers and technocrats for more than "patriotic" reasons until telling casualties—as well as growing protests—vitiated the jingosim of the day.

Unfortunately, nuclear power plants will eventually create their own cemetery of casualties, with or without the direct action of Clamshell. The real tragedy of radical protest movements has not been their isolation but their use of debasing stratagems to gain "allies" at the wrong time for the wrong reasons. Worse, all too many workers and urban dwellers have been intellectually and spiritually degraded by elitists who pandered to their "opinions" and narrow-based interests, fostering an overall decline in public consciousness rather than an advance.

Clamshell will grow the way it originated; in an organic molecular fashion rather than by a "strategy" that mobilises people without uniting them and "leads" them without transforming them. Out of this molecular proliferation, Clamshell will not only grow—if social growth of any kind is possible at present—but "broaden" its goals. There is no mystery to this process, no "strategy" that will ensure it or "tactics" that will enhance it, other than the intuitive knowledge that becomes conscious knowledge and the libertarian forms that keep this process alive.

MURRAY BOOKCHIN

Taken from the July/August issue of *Liberation*—an American magazine available from Housemans, 5 Caledonian Rd, London N1.



In this article, Mike Ballard of Social Revolution turns a scathing eye towards large-scale workers' co-operatives. Peace News tends to concentrate a lot of attention on small-scale alternative co-operatives, and apart from Lucas Aerospace has directed a good deal less energy into thinking about large-scale production.

Mike's conclusions are almost purely critical of co-operatives but he does raise a lot of issues that need facing: it's an opportunity for those of us who disagree with him to spell out what we think. Victor Anderson, talking about The British Road to Socialism Draft (in PN August 26) suggested that we need to think of alternative strategies. This is very much part of the same issue.

Rightly or wrongly, co-operatives have traditionally been associated with the concept of socialism.

In this country the association is best known through the longstanding tie between the Labour Party and the Co-operative Party which is partly funded by the huge co-operative wholesale and retail societies. These societies would not be recognised to-day, as having anything very radical about them. We have even been treated to the Co-operative Insurance Society helping to finance Harry Hyams' notorious venture at Centre Point in London.

Producer co-operatives originating in the same movement as the "consumer co-ops", have never been so "successful". Since their hey-day at the turn of the century, and despite occasional revivals, they have generally declined. To-day perhaps fewer than thirty genuine producer co-ops still exist. Most of them are very small concerns concentrated in clothing, footwear and printing, and employing probably less than 3,000 people altogether.

Only a small minority of co-operatives are completely self-governing.

In addition to these, there are some newer co-operatives often involving only a few individuals in each enterprise, that have grown up in the period since the 60s under the umbrella of the "alternative society".

The more widespread enthusiasm for the "co-operative idea" in recent years, has not however, been inspired by any of these ventures, but has stemmed mainly from four particular, much publicised struggles against redundancies. They were the women leather workers of Fakenham in Norfolk, who eventually formed Fakenham Enterprises Ltd; the NVT motor-bike workers near Coventry who formed the Meriden Co-operative; the Fisher-Bendix workers in Liverpool who formed the Kirkby Co-operative; and last but not least, the Glasgow *Daily Express* workers who formed a short-lived co-op to produce the *Scottish Daily News*.

Whilst the most radical of producer co-ops may have shown that, even in a hostile climate, it is possible to run industry along far more democratic and egalitarian lines than at present, the general picture painted by a brief summary of recent large-scale ventures is far from bright.

They all started off as struggles against redundancies and whilst those that have survived *have* saved some jobs, the overall record is pretty grim. Generally speaking these co-operatives have served only to allow the rationalisation within their respective industries which was needed in the first place to restore profitability. A recent and even more striking example of this trend is the "Clogoras Co-op" (formally Courtaulds) in Skelmersdale, which was formed by 28 men from a company which employed about 1,250 workers! In the case of the *Daily Express*, 1,200 workers also lost their jobs. The remaining workers who invested their redundancy money and savings in the co-op eventually lost both their money and their jobs.

To the extent that the co-ops are "successful" in these circumstances, it is usually by cutting back on their own wages and conditions, often resulting in workers elsewhere in the industry being given the boot (as with Meriden and Kirkby).

For libertarians trying hard to distinguish themselves from the traditional left, it may be difficult to accept, but their criticisms of worker co-operatives are essentially correct, if incomplete. So it's worth going over them in some detail.

ECONOMICS

If we ask in what way the ownership of the factory by the employees differs from ownership by a capitalist, we obtain some painful answers.

A company has to buy its raw materials on the market, along with every other company. It does not get steel, oil, copper, coal, any cheaper because it is owned by its employees. Indeed, to the extent that it is smaller than many other companies it may well have to pay more because it cannot obtain the same concessionary rates that really 'large customers obtain.

A company has to sell its finished products on the market, along with every other company. It does not get higher prices for its goods because it is owned by its employees. It has to compete with every other manufacturer in terms of price, delivery dates, quality etc. To the extent that it is smaller than other companies in the field, it will have problems in reducing its unit cost by means of economies of large scale production. To the extent that it is "different" from the orthodox capitalist concern it has to compete that much harder. It may find itself excluded from the informal price-fixing ring that exists in many industries, and it may be subject to a concerted campaign of under-selling by its capitalist rivals.

In order to compete for any length of time, the new company will have to invest in new plant and equipment. To do this it will require a large amount of capital. If this is obtained by borrowing, then the new company will have to convince the banks that it is a viable and profitable concern, run along good business lines. It will be under even greater pressure to prove that it is viable just because it is a different sort of company. If it gets a loan from the government the same rules will apply. Of course, it may decide to raise the capital needed for investment out of the profit on its sales.

DILEMMA

That brings us back to the way in which the new concern is different. Inside the factory, there are no owners other than the workers. But they buy goods at the same price as other capitalist concerns. They sell goods at the same price as other capitalist firms. They compete flat out with other capitalist firms. If they are to make enough surplus to re-invest, or to convince the banks they are good for a big loan, how are they to do it? They are in a trap. Either they sack some of their fellows; or they increase their own intensity of work; or they take a wage cut. Whichever avenue they choose, their decision has two effects. Firstly they have attacked their own living standards. Secondly, they are acting as an unconscious argument in the hands of other bosses against their work-forces. If employers in other factories are faced with a demand for, say, a wage rise, they will immediately reply that they can't afford it. Few trade unionists will believe that straight off, but if the employer can point to a worker co-operative and say: "they work for less than you are demanding, with no boss, why are you demanding more?" then they have an excellent propaganda weapon against other trade unionists.

All this sounds very harsh, but it is in no way meant as a slight on those workers who have fought long and hard for a workers' co-operative. In many cases they have fought that fight very well indeed, but the logic of capitalism has doomed their efforts.

It's also noticeable that it is mainly in labour-intensive industries that relatively independent co-ops have been launched and some become "successful". This isn't just because less capital needs to be raised, but because there is often a greater measure of skill still attached to the job, and a greater identification with the job, the product and the enterprise. This was certainly true of the Meriden workers and it was true for the journalists and the skilled printworkers at the *Express* (though not for the bulk of the *Express* workers). The same identification can be seen in other struggles, such as that of the Lip watchmakers in France, which have stopped short of creating co-ops. Whilst this identification may well help to sustain a co-op it cuts right across identification with fellow workers as a class. It has been a terribly divisive factor, ranking perhaps only second to nationalism (which, by the way, also played its own destructive part in the *Express* struggle).

DEMOCRACY

The extent to which internal democracy takes root in co-ops depends to some extent on the length of struggle and degree of prior involvement of the workers before the co-op is set up. But the odds are against a fully democratic internal life being maintained.

Firstly, the co-op must remain competitive and it can't afford to allow productive workers any large amount of time out of the working day, for meetings and consultations. After a full 40 hrs work or more, most workers are not prepared to regularly attend meetings in their spare time. The co-op can't make just anything it wants, and work satisfaction doesn't automatically flow from knowing the place belongs to them. No one wants their whole life to revolve around their "work", but in the present circumstances a fully democratic co-op demands just that.

Secondly, competition demands a great deal of business secrecy which contradicts workers' democracy. Co-ops set up on the ruins of failed private firms are particularly sensitive to the market reactions which would follow open discussion of their business problems.

Peace News 21 October 1977 13

The traditional left alternative to workers co-ops as a solution to redundancies, ie "nationalisation under workers control" isn't in practice any better. In many cases it is a completely impossible demand anyway but even if viable it won't be instituted in the form the left wingers want. The same market pressures apply, if perhaps on a higher level and mediated by the state bureaucracy. Workers still need to fight back against cuts in wages and conditions and further redundancies.

I've talked as though co-ops and nationalisation were opposed options because they are often presented that way. But actually large scale co-ops can only get off the ground and continue with massive government aid.

The Institute For Workers Control who've been the main ideological backers of workers' co-ops, are also strongly in favour of widespread nationalisation, and of government involvement in co-ops as representative of the "consumer" or the "public".

Their discussions of this matter are reminiscent of those in the early co-op movement which divided strongly into "producer" and "consumer" camps. The problem really can't be resolved administratively. So long as capitalism continues the consumer/producer conflict will remain. The IWC and other proponents of nationalisation and co-ops cannot unfortunately see beyond the categories of capitalism. Their plans are part and parcel of the dominant trend in modern society towards *state capitalism*.

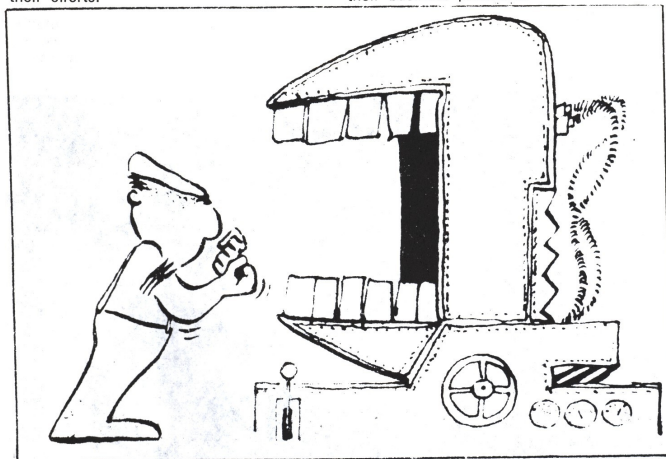
Co-ops and nationalisation are clearly neither socialism themselves nor steps towards socialism. Unpalatable as it may be to some, we really can't solve our problems or satisfy our needs without destroying the whole wage-labour/capital and money/market set-up along with the oppressive apparatus of the state.

Small co-ops may be viable and useful as experiments and examples of the potential which a socialist society would realise, but there is no way in which a socialist *economy* can be built up within the framework of capitalism. A social revolution is essential.

Struggles against redundancies need to be extended both physically—to the neighbourhood and other industries, and socially onto a wider arena. Only if we fail to extend them, will we be obliged to "choose" between the *capitalist* alternatives of a co-op, nationalisation, private employer, or the dole.

As libertarian socialists we shouldn't take up any *principled stand* for or against any of these. It will depend on the circumstances in each case—the level of unemployment, the prospects for continued profitability, the degree and form of shop floor organisation etc—which must determine what we decide.

Does all this mean that co-ops are useless? No! There are many radical ventures such as community presses, bookshops, distributors, clubs, houses etc, which in order to maintain an even keel within capitalism have made use of co-operative principles. Again most of these are small and labour intensive. More important however, is that their aim is primarily political and they are not expected to provide a meal ticket. The co-operative structure is supportive of, but secondary to the political aim and the project is kept going mainly because of the high level of political awareness and commitment of the members.



peace news

for nonviolent revolution

No. 2057 Friday 18 November 1977

Fortnightly Price 15p



peace news

for nonviolent revolution

No. 2082 Friday 3 November 1978

Fortnightly Price 20p



Demystifying radical myths:

"I'd been told about anarchy, but I discovered chaos" Christiania p9-12

Demolishing authority's myths:

"...the largely artificial attempt by the State to build up an image of some powerful external enemy" Aren't our (secret) police wonderful! p7

wri triennial, disarmament train

peace news

for nonviolent revolution

No. 2102 Friday 31 August 1979

Fortnightly Price 20p



The more our political experience encourages us to believe that authority must be enforced, the less we are able to understand the nature of authority or to create new forms of it.

APRIL CARTER

**AUTHORITY
AS DEMOCRACY ?
p10-12**

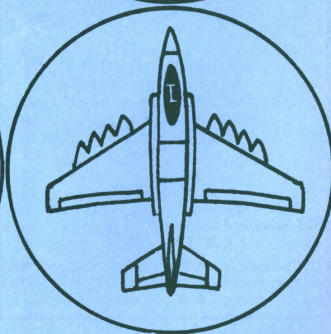
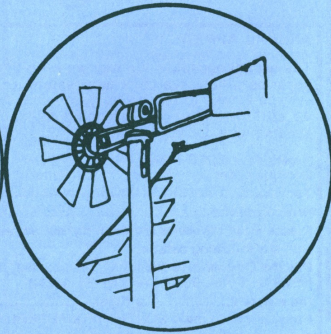
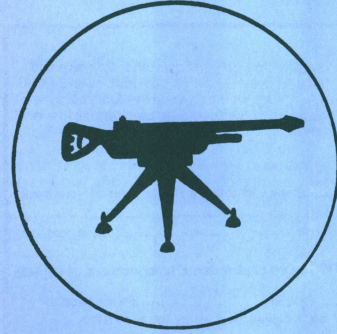
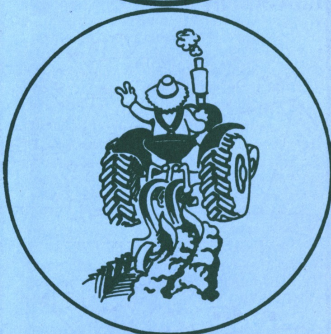
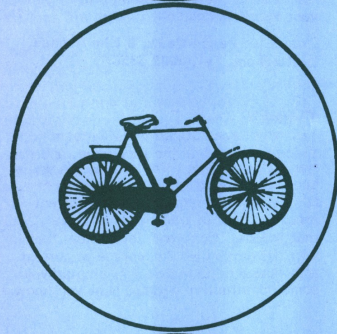
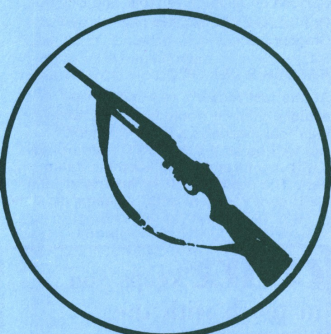
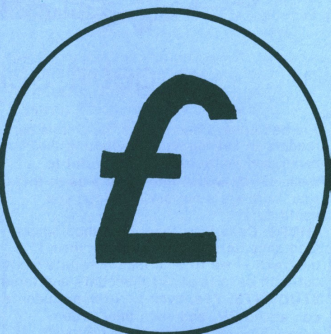
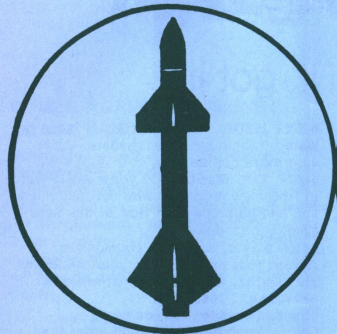
WOMEN & SCIENCE p7

peace news

for nonviolent revolution

No. 2103 Friday 14 September 1979

Fortnightly Price 20p



Lament of the Working-Class Hero's Wife



With spirit

O the wains are greet-ing and the sink is leak-ing And you're stand-ing in the pub
wi' your Youngers Tart-an Special, And you say quite ed-u-cat-ing all
the young-er gen-er-a-tion of your left-wing pol-it-ics and that's a fact.
Chorus
I ken I'm the wife but I'll no be your skivvy. You may be a
man, but what can you give me? Cuts in how-es, cuts and bruises
es, That's no the stor-y for a blood-y life o' qbr-y! Oh you....

O the wains are greeting and the sink is leaking
And you're standing in the pub wi' your Youngers Tartan Special,
And you say you're educating all the younger generation
Of your left-wing politics and that's a fact.

I ken I'm the wife but I'll no be your skivvy.
You may be a man, but what can you give me?
Cuts in houses, cuts and bruises,
That's no the story for a bloody life o' glory!

O you say that the solution is a left-wing revolution,
But your drinking money's pockled fae the family allowance;
Your Marx and all your Lenin does nae help me wi' the cleaning
And I've had to put ma wedding ring into the pawn.

Well I really canna take it, so you're going to have to make it
On your own, cos I'm going, wi' the bairns and our belongings
And we'll maybe go to Maggie's or to Effie's or to Aggie's
Cos we've got a lot of sisters that'll help me through.

wains—children; greeting—crying; pockled—stolen.

*New words to a traditional Scots tune by Linda Peachey and sisters from Edinburgh and Glasgow women's liberation groups, 1977. This song is just one of a hundred in *My Song Is My Own*. The songs range from traditional 17th century ballads about women to modern feminist songs and cover courtship, desire and sexual relationships; marriage; motherhood and childhood; and work—paid and unpaid. *My Song Is My Own* is to be published shortly (see Events Extra inside) by Pluto Press and will be available from them and bookshops in paperback priced £3.95.



peace news

for nonviolent revolution

No. 2104 Friday 28 September 1979

Fortnightly Price 20p

WALES
fighting for
a future
p6-15

URGENT ACTION by

buys

Monday home

Poverty belt will
drift from rural

RAF steps up
and upsets
return for
schools

Rail service
quality has
fallen,
B.R. admits

Small holdings wanted
GENUINE CASH CLIENTS

Houses in ABERYSTWYTH
WANTED

Holiday home
boost rates

boost rates

boost rates

EXPERIENCES IN DERRY p10

peace news

for nonviolent revolution

No. 2105 Friday 12 October 1979

Fortnightly Price 20p



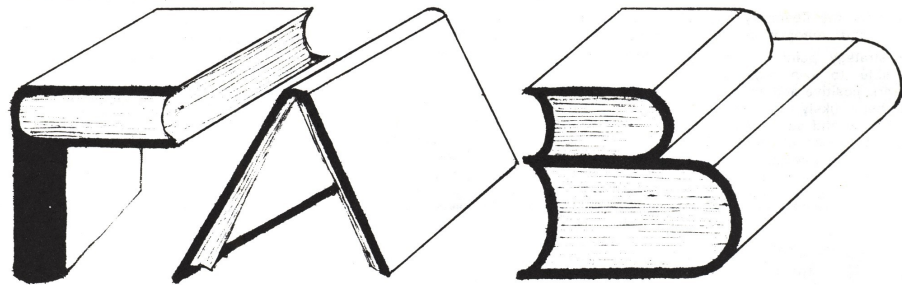
POPE AND
BOVRIL p6

NONVIOLENCE
IN FRANCE p7

SELLOUT IN
ZIMBABWE p9

RADICAL
TECHNOLOGY p12

ALTERNATIVE
BOOKSHOPS p14



The Federation of Alternative Booksellers (FAB) has been running in some form for four years. In the last eighteen months it has consolidated itself to become an important part of the network of alternatives across the country. Now it represents nearly 50 bookshops with clearly identifiable aims and methods of working.

FAB aims to represent the needs of politically non-aligned, radical, alternative and socialist bookshops that operate with a non-hierarchical, collectively-organised internal structure and are non-profit-making. The needs of such bookshops include contact with others to share advice, experiences and a variety of technical knowledge that people discover, eg legal aspects or sources of funding. Fresh ideas lead to renewed enthusiasm and the contact is perhaps the most important aspect of the Federation. The Federation organises itself through four-monthly national conferences in different parts of the country, where all major decisions are made by consensus, together with regional meetings of booksellers in between. It has a part-time, rotating co-ordinator who deals with interim correspondence, the writing and distribution devolved to regional groups or individual bookshops where practicable.

It took a long time to establish common grounds for working together and an appropriate structure. Some shops are run by one or two people alone, some are large full-time collectives often with a few part-time members too, and one or two are run entirely by volunteers working, eg, half a day a week. The stock sold also varies significantly. Some shops concentrate on such areas as alternative life styles, self-sufficiency etc, whilst others appeal more to the orthodox left. Many cover the whole range, and indeed it is, if not impossible, destructive to draw up boundaries between them.

The differences between shops serve to illustrate the range of ideas, methods and philosophies embraced in the libertarian left, and I believe this shows a strength rather than, as often said, weakness in our movement, since we have adapted libertarian structures to meet all our different requirements.

The development of the FAB has reflected the way it has overcome some obstacles but failed to cope with others. We now feel we are aware of our limitations and can progress more easily. The organisation was set up at a national conference called at Grass Roots in Manchester in November 1975. 13 shops became members, and a graded scale of subscriptions was instituted based on turnover of shops. The administration was put under the control of one bookshop each year and the newsletter under another. Decision making was given solely to the then annual national

conference, although a mid-year conference was given over to discussions. However there were only three further conferences and at each one there were fewer participants. The major question raised was whether FAB had any function beyond getting together for a chat, and there seemed to be little energy put in. By the last conference the only people who found it useful were the three new shops and those who were stimulated by the excellent example of the Federation of Northern Wholefoods Collectives. Nevertheless some communication was deemed important, especially the passing on of "inside" information, ideally through bulletins in the newsletter, the mutual support available through close contact and the feeling of being part of a country-wide movement; and potentially the use of FAB as a distributor of eg US imports where one shop alone could not handle minimum order requirements.

To analyse why FAB did not feel it was working, one can isolate two sources of problems: the economic pressure of operating at "break even" point, and the lack of continuity between conferences. These had effects on the level of centralisation, and the insular outlook of many people trying to keep their shops afloat. With different people attending different conferences without adequate communication between to fill in on past discussion, decision had to be argued from scratch. There are probably other reasons but these are the easiest to isolate.

By the beginning of 1978 several changes had come about. Numerous new shops began to appear, all anxious to learn from their more experienced counterparts; the North of England had kept close but informal links that maintained the seed of the Federation; and increased attacks on shops by the newly organised right-wing

and state harassment, called upon a need for strong links and a new feeling of solidarity. People were more willing to risk breaking out of their insularity.

Thus a conference was called at the York Community Bookshop in January 1978. This resolved to work out how to provide mutual support for attacked bookshops, to try to implement stock exchange and co-operative buying, to formalise the passing on of information and to act as a pressure group on straight publishers and distributors. Our current basis for membership and our aims were worked out in full. There was much debate on whether sympathetic, but aligned (ie party) bookshop should join. This was later resolved against, though some were asked to hold a joint conference for further elaboration of common ground, but this has not yet come about.

Discussion arising from the York conference continued and occupied the following conference in Coventry, hosted by Wedge Co-op. Talk also started on having a full-time co-ordinator. This proved highly controversial until the following conference in Todmorden. There several ideas were proposed for the work, and we decided that a full-time worker would be inappropriate and wasn't justified either by the workload or by the money available. Up until this time the work had been done by individual collectives undertaking separate tasks, and where appropriate to work within regional federations that were formalised at the same time. A new co-ordinator was appointed, to work one day a week and be paid for it. Having done it for six months she found it too much to continue, and the task became mine. Hence it seemed that the task should rotate every six months. Thus after protracted trial and error the most productive and appropriate structure for FAB proved to be perhaps the most libertarian.



International Voluntary Service

IVS is looking for people who
*have basically sound ideas
about what is going on in the
world

*want genuinely to assist
those caught in the under-
development trap and
*have useful skills, training
and experience to utilise and
pass on.

Some current volunteer
vacancies:

MOZAMBIQUE:

Various personnel for new programme
Engineers of all types;
Agri/Horticulturalists;
G.P.s, specialists, Nurse-tutors and
paramedics;
Technical teacher trainers;
Maths/Science Teachers.

BOTSWANA:

For Brigades (community training
centres): **Managers, Accountants,**
Administrators, Organisers and a
Textiles Adviser.
Also **Rural Craft Enterprises**
Animators to stimulate and assist
small-scale rural industry;
Manager for cooperative dairy farm;
Boatbuilder (or experienced wood-
worker).

LESOTHO:

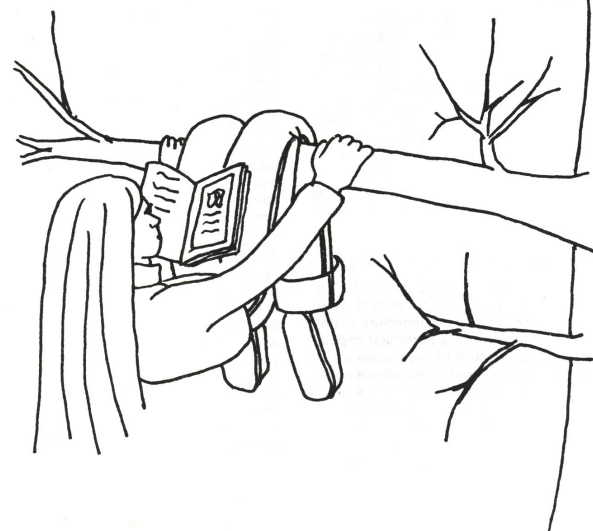
Farmers and Market Gardeners and
General Technical ('Jack of All
Trades') persons for integrated
rural development project;
Weaver and a **Business Manager** for
weaver's coop.

SWAZILAND:

General Technical person for School
of Appropriate Farm Technology;
Co-operative advisers to train
secretary/managers;
Occupational Therapist for hospital
in Mbabane.

All above on volunteer terms.
Details and application forms from:
Section OS6, IVS,
53 Regent Road,
Leicester.

IVS



Since then we have had two further conferences and we have settled down to get on with the work of compiling a book on setting up and running an alternative bookshop, and a set of comprehensive lists of suitable books for particular areas, eg non-sexist or non-racist children's books. Campaigns include a continual assault on publishers producing good books with sexist covers, misrepresenting the content. At the last conference we established a fund for attacked bookshops. We are beginning to be recognised as the organisation representing the major suppliers

of alternative literature, and some of our most constructive work has been to encourage other shops to set up and learn from us. The shops all supply material without which many community groups and campaigns would be lost. Our most important contribution has been to improve communication, which is why we each set up in the first place. We hope our experiences will encourage others to form similar links.

MIKE HARGEST

FAB SHOP LIST

Scotland

Aberdeen Books Collective, 167 King St, Aberdeen.
Logos Bookshop, 251 Hawkhill, Dundee.
Glasgow Bookshop Collective, c/o SCCL, 146 Holland St, Glasgow 2.
Edinburgh Books Collective, First of May, 45 Niddry St, Edinburgh 1.
Open Gaze Bookshop, 60 Broughton St, Edinburgh 1.

North east England

Bakery Bookshop, 27 Stockton Rd, Sunderland.
Durham Community Co-op, 85a New Elvet, Durham.
Days of Hope, 115 Westgate Rd, Newcastle.

Yorkshire/Humerside

York Community Books, 73 Walmgate, York.
Left Book Service, 67 Salisbury St, Hull.
Bofs, 33 Princes Avenue, Hull.
Fourth Idea, 14 Southgate, Bradford.
Corner Bookshop, 162 Woodhouse Lane, Leeds 2.
Peaceworks, 54 Wakefield Rd, Aspley, Huddersfield.
Great Bear Trading Company, 23 Water St, Todmorden.

North west

Single Step, 78a Penny St, Lancaster.
Fly in Amber, Fishergate Hill, Preston.
News from Nowhere, 100 Whitechapel, Liverpool 1.
Grass Roots, 1 Newton Street, Manchester 1.

Midlands

Mushroom, 10 Heathcote St, Nottingham.
Blackthorn Books, 74 Highcross, Leicester.
The Other Branch, 42 Bath St, Leamington Spa, Warwickshire.
Wedge Cooperative, 13 High St, Coventry.
Peace Centre, 18 Moor St Ringway, Birmingham 4.

Prometheus, 134 Alcester Rd, Moseley, Birmingham 13.
The Closed Shop, 14 Walsall St, Wednesbury, West Midlands.
EOA Books, 34 Cowley Rd, Oxford.
Oakleaf Books, 109 Church St, Wolverton, Milton Keynes.

London

Rising Free, 182 Upper St, London N1.
The Corner House Bookshop, 14 Endell St, London WC2.
Centreprise, 136/8 Kingsland High St, London E8.
Campaign Books, 9 Rupert St, London W1.
Tower Hamlets Arts Project, 59 Watney St, London E1.
Bookplace, 15 Peckham High St, London SE15.

Rest of South east/East Anglia

Tantadlin, 53 High St, Aylesbury, Bucks.
Acorn Bookshop, the Emporium, Merchants Place, off Friar St, Reading.
Public House, 21 Little Preston St, Brighton.
Grapevine, 24 High Street, Hastings, Sussex.
Arjuna, 12 Mill Rd, Cambridge.
Freewheel Collective, c/o 2b Lakenham Rd, Norwich, Norfolk.

South West/Wales

One-o-eight, 108 Salisbury Rd, Cardiff.
Ice, Room 6, 3 Palace Gate, Exeter.
Full Marks, 110 Cheltenham Rd, Bristol 6.
1985, Longacre Hall, London Rd, Bath.
Goodness Gracious, Globe Yard, St Austell, Cornwall.
Mid-Wales Bookshop, c/o Mark Robins, 12 Thompson Rd, Exeter, Devon.
Alternative Newsagent, 10 Benthall Place, St Thomas, Swansea.

Ireland

Just Books, 7 Winetavern St, Belfast 1.

JEWS AND THE LEFT p10

peace news

for nonviolent revolution

No. 2106 Friday 26 October

Fortnightly Price 20p

INDO-CHINA WARS: SOME LONG-TERM REPERCUSSIONS p7-9



JAYAPRAKASH NARAYAN p12

MIDDLE EAST p7-9

peace news

for nonviolent revolution

No. 2107 Friday 9 November 1979

Fortnightly Price 20p



SEABROOK: TESTING THE STRENGTH
OF NONVIOLENCE p10-11

AMERICAN INDIANS RECLAIM THE LAND p14-15

WOMEN OF ALL RED NATIONS p13

peace news

for nonviolent revolution

No. 2108 Friday 23 November 1979

Fortnightly Price 20p



PERSON/PLANET
THE DISINTEGRATION
OF INDUSTRIAL SOCIETY p10-11

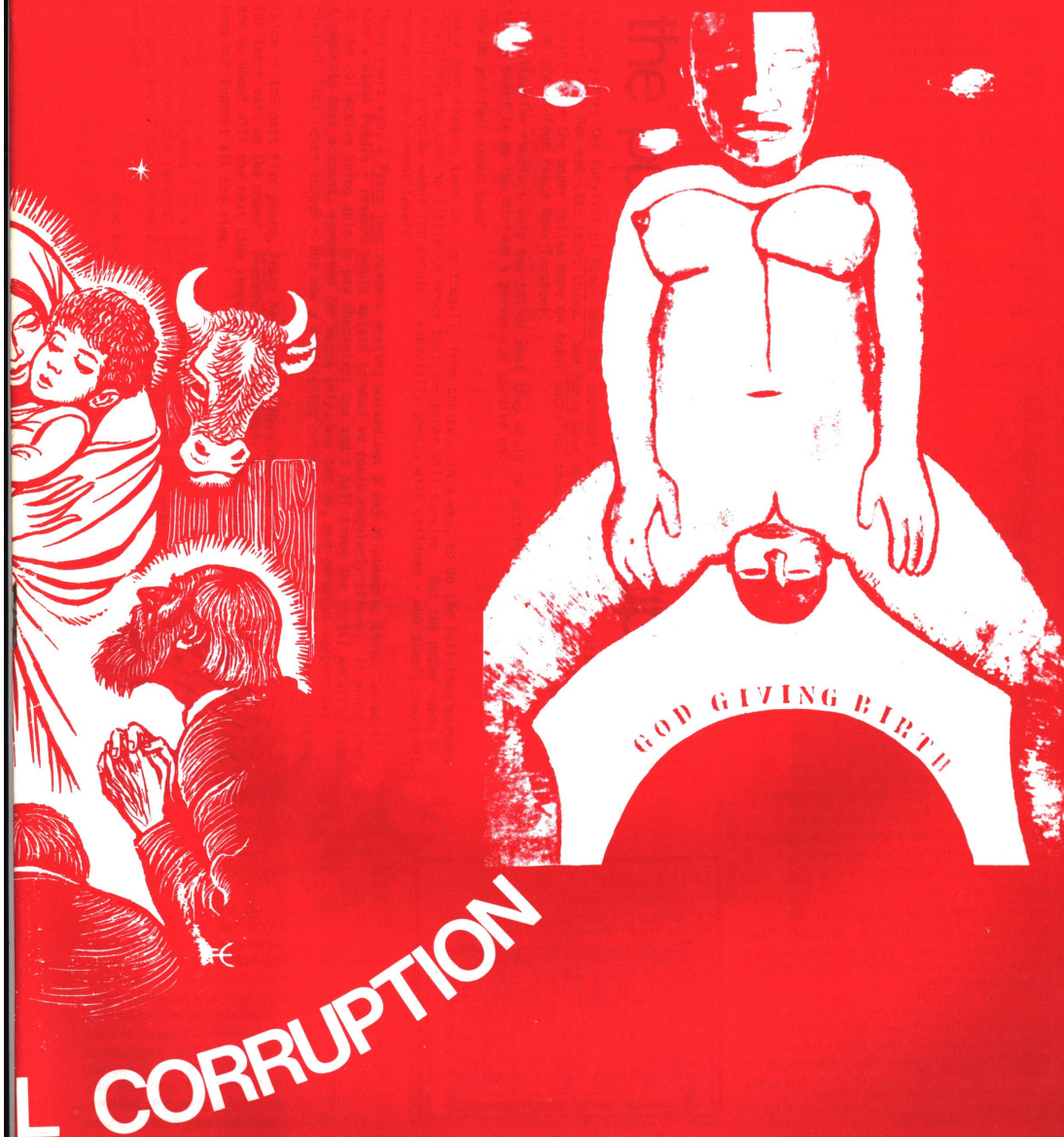
DOUBLE ISSUE

peace news

for nonviolent revolution

No.s 2109 & 2110 Friday 7 December 1979

Price 40p



THE CUTS p7-8

peace news

for nonviolent revolution

No. 2011 Friday 11 January 1980

Fortnightly Price 20p



third world women p10-14

Wherever you go these days, you hear about the public sector. If you're on the left, every reduction in services gets blamed on the cuts. If you're on the right, every delay in provision is blamed on the bureaucracy of nationalisation and "feather-bedding". Anti-cuts campaigns are springing up all over the country. But amidst all this ferment of activity, some basic questions need to be asked.

THE WELFARE STATE LOOKS AFTER US ALL

The context of all this struggle is the Welfare State, created after the Second World War to put an end to "want, ignorance, idleness, disease, squalor" (or so said Beveridge, its creator). The theory put forward was that if enough money were put into the Welfare State these sources of deprivation would disappear and gradually the Welfare State would reach a finite plateau of expenditure. Whether the government actually believed this at the time is debatable, but what in fact happened was that through the '50s and '60s, poverty was kept at a socially concealable level. It seemed a step forward for the working class, and indeed it was, compared to memories of the workhouse and the dole queue between the wars. However, in the early '70s, people began to criticise the Welfare State, both in terms of what it offered and the way in which it was offered. Constantly rising expectations meant increasing demands. Women and blacks criticised its rampant sexism and racism, claimants fought against the "charity" of social security, squatters challenged the housing list—the Welfare State was the target of the libertarian left. Although the Welfare State benefited the working class, it was also seen as the "soft cop" of capitalism.

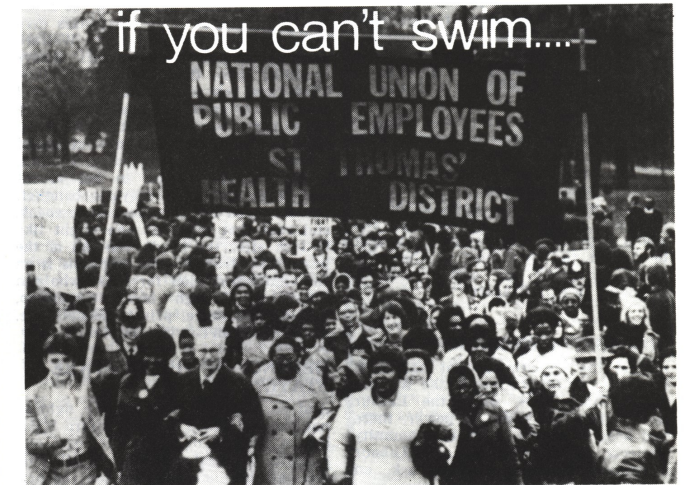
THE WORKERS, THE USERS AND THE GOVERNMENT

Now who are the protagonists in this arena? On the one hand, we have the workers in the public services, who have developed more and more of a sense of themselves as a collective group. Then we have the users of the service, who come together to criticise and change the Welfare State rather than just being passive consumers. Finally, there is the government, which has shown itself more and more clearly to be an agent of capitalism. Whether Labour or Tory, the government has used the Welfare State to impose the needs of the Confederation of British Industries or the International Monetary Fund on the working class. From supposedly providing for the social needs of the working class, now the Welfare State has explicitly become a weapon of monetary policy.

NO MORE CHEAP LABOUR

The workers within the public service sector first began the ball rolling in '73 when hospital ancillary workers went on strike as a protest against low wages. The National Health Service had been run on the cheap since its inception and the workers had had enough. What was even more exciting was that most of the people on the picket lines were women, many taking militant action for the first time. That strike did not win its demands, but things were never to be the same again in hospitals. Nurses,

then doctors, took industrial action. Instead of a nice, cosy hierarchy, the power structures within the health service were revealed and the unions began to organise. The membership has grown by leaps and bounds, particularly amongst women. The union leadership now has a much more prominent place in the Trades Union Congress (with all the compromises that entails!). Above



all, ancillary workers developed a sense of their worth, of the importance of so-called shit jobs. They realised that society wouldn't function without someone to do the clearing-up and routine work.

WE LEARN THROUGH ORGANISING

This history refers particularly to health workers, but the same experience was repeated with other service workers. Refuse collectors, building workers, all took industrial action and realised their importance by the chaos that followed from their absence. The fire brigade were on strike in 1977-78 and learnt to their own cost that although they might save lives, their own livelihood was worth very little. In the period 1978-79, social workers were on strike; for many of them, it was the first time they had met other social workers in their area, it was the first time they had a sense of themselves as a collective body. Teachers have become increasingly involved in militant action. The banning of meal time supervision, which began as a work to rule in support of a pay claim, has become a regular practice amongst teachers. As long as they feel exploited and threatened by the cuts, they are not willing to give their own free time out of goodwill. The concept of the professional services as a "vocation" is being challenged.

Finally, last winter there was also the manual workers strike which forced a general election. Although the strike was partly the result of the leadership of the unions losing control of the rank and file, it also showed up the isolation of public service workers. There were very few links with the private sector, and even fewer real gestures of support.

for nonviolent revolution 11 January 1980 7

CHANGE OF CONSCIOUSNESS

To sum up, over the last decade, the consciousness of workers in the public sector has changed greatly. They have become more aware of their collective strength. They have learnt to organise themselves as part of the trade union movement; they know the importance of their work for the working class as

a whole. And they certainly understand the role of the media in distorting their actions and accusing them of tearing apart normal life.

CRITICISM FROM WITHOUT

While all this was happening to workers within the Welfare State, outside the institutions criticism was growing and developing. In the early 1970s there was a well-established counter-culture. Women and health groups sprang up, there were many free schools, squatters lived in collective households, unsupported mothers poured cold water on social security snoopers. The action was lively, the optimism buoyant.

The basis of the criticism of the Welfare State was that it was out of people's control and that it did not provide what was needed. To take a specific example of women and health. The small groups that were formed felt that the male medical hierarchy within hospitals held all the power. Women were talked down to, their experience of medical treatment was arranged for the doctor's convenience (e.g. induction of birth during week-day hours) and even worse, many doctors were totally ignorant and uncaring of women's bodies. Despite their ignorance, of course, doctors still felt they had a right to control a woman's body, by holding power over abortion services as well as others. To challenge this alienation, women knew they had to know their own bodies, and develop their confidence. They went on the offensive against medical technology, choosing simple remedies and treatments, using self-examination, campaigning for home births and so on. Often this led to finding the social causes of ill health, and

continued over

so the women and health movement was distrustful of cuts campaigns with simplistic slogans of more money and more hospitals.

THE EGA STAYS OK?

Probably the most famous campaign against cuts that included a critique of the NHS was the campaign to save the Elizabeth Garrett Anderson Hospital, a hospital specialising in treatment by and for women. For two years or more, NHS workers and feminists worked together to keep the hospital open. As well as the defensive strategy of working in and 24 hour pickets, there was also an offensive strategy of setting up new services, such as a well-woman clinic to show what other sorts of services were needed. It was a bitter blow when the Tories came to power and effectively smashed the campaign, by saying the hospital would be kept open, as long as it could be funded by charity. The whole impetus of the campaign, a fight to defend the principles of the NHS while criticising the social relations embodied in it, fell apart.

COMMUNITY WORKERS

But in the meantime, what had been happening in other areas of the Welfare State? Since 1974, when the Labour Government had come to power, there had been a growth of small community projects. On the one hand, the Labour Government began the cutback on social spending and on the other they handed out money through such bodies as the Manpower Services and job creation schemes. Women's Aid centres, socialist centres, alternative presses, community workers—many were funded by Labour's attempt to alleviate unemployment, and mop up discontent.

Many grass roots activists found jobs in the community sector despite all the contradictions. On the one hand, they were accused of being bought off by the state, on the other hand, they had more resources with which to develop socialist ideas of community control. Out of this experience has grown a rich body of knowledge of what a welfare state could be like if it was controlled by the working class in its own interests. The emphasis would be on community control and adaptability, accessible services and demystification of skills, imagination and sensitivity to people's needs.

MAGGIE AND THE AXE

Now, of course, we have a Tory government. Rather than Labour's creeping cuts to pick away at the Welfare State, we have Thatcher's sledgehammer to smash the whole concept of social services. The perspective is to re-establish the "moral" value of a meritocracy where the social misfits and redundant labour go to the wall to maintain a steadily shrinking group of so-called "able" people. It is not that class divisions were ever absent from the Welfare State, since the middle-classes always benefited more than the working-class. They knew how to demand services, and also how to argue for the kind of services they wanted. Thatcher's moral crusade drops any pretence at social provision for all; look after yourself is the current slogan. In her recent speech to the Lord Mayor's banquet, she shrugged her shoulders so to speak, and said that much as one might like to look after the needy, the call of the purse was stronger. The emphasis is on individual provision for those who can afford it through home ownership, medical insurance, private schools, etc. Those who can't swim can sink.

DEFENCE OF THE WELFARE STATE?

And so it seems that we are fighting not just a defence of the Welfare State, but in defence of the whole logic and morality of social provision for all. This can only be done clearly from the perspective of a socialist alternative and this means bringing together the experience of both workers and users. There are two groups in the fight for social services, those inside and those outside the State. The activity of those working within the State ranges from basic trade unionism and defence of jobs to radical critiques of health care, education, housing, such as the Politics of Health Group, the Tyndale teachers, Community Action. Outside the state cuts campaigners may range from other trade-unionists supporting the defence of jobs and the social wage, to women demanding day-care abortion or tenants fighting for better conditions. The result is often messy campaigns, with internal arguments over priorities, but this is how we move forward.

Over the last decade, workers in the public services have discovered their collective strength and their importance in the reproduction of society. They are

no longer the poor relations of the trade union movement. But, at the same time as unionisation is growing in the public sector, the trade union movement itself is weak, particularly in defence of the rights of women, who are a large majority in public sector work. Also workers in the public sector are increasingly aware that the forms of action taken will have to be different from the strikes and withdrawal of labour of the traditional labour movement. Work-ins, occupations, workers councils have all been tried and will appear again, but it is crucial to build up internal organisation and democracy within the unions to carry out new industrial tactics, which are in the interest of the working class as a whole.

Similarly, militants critical of state provision of services are both more organised and more numerous than they were at the beginning of the 1970s. It is crucial that they take part in campaigns against the cuts since they know the value of guerilla tactics, community involvement and a positive alternative. To quote from a recent Big Flame pamphlet, *Labouring under the Tories?*:

"The Tories have been able to win working class support for their vision of an individualist competitive society. They have discredited the idea of socialism by skilful use of events like the Indo-China wars, and by pointing out the mess in which Labour's 'mixed economy' ideas have left institutions like the NHS. In our struggles we must reaffirm against all odds the idea of socialism—of a society run on collectivist, non-competitive lines.

"But slogans and demands, however correct, will not alone prove to people that 'socialism is the answer'. Our politics, both in content and the way we put them over, must relate to people's personal hopes and fears."

As workers and users have organised themselves, we have learnt from the mistakes and victories of the last decade. We must move forward by synthesising the emphasis of different campaigns. In Big Flame we attempt to do this by organising through a public sector commission. Anyone interested in working with us should contact us at 217 Waver-tree Road, Liverpool 7.

PAT RECKITT

for Big Flame

Public Sector Commission

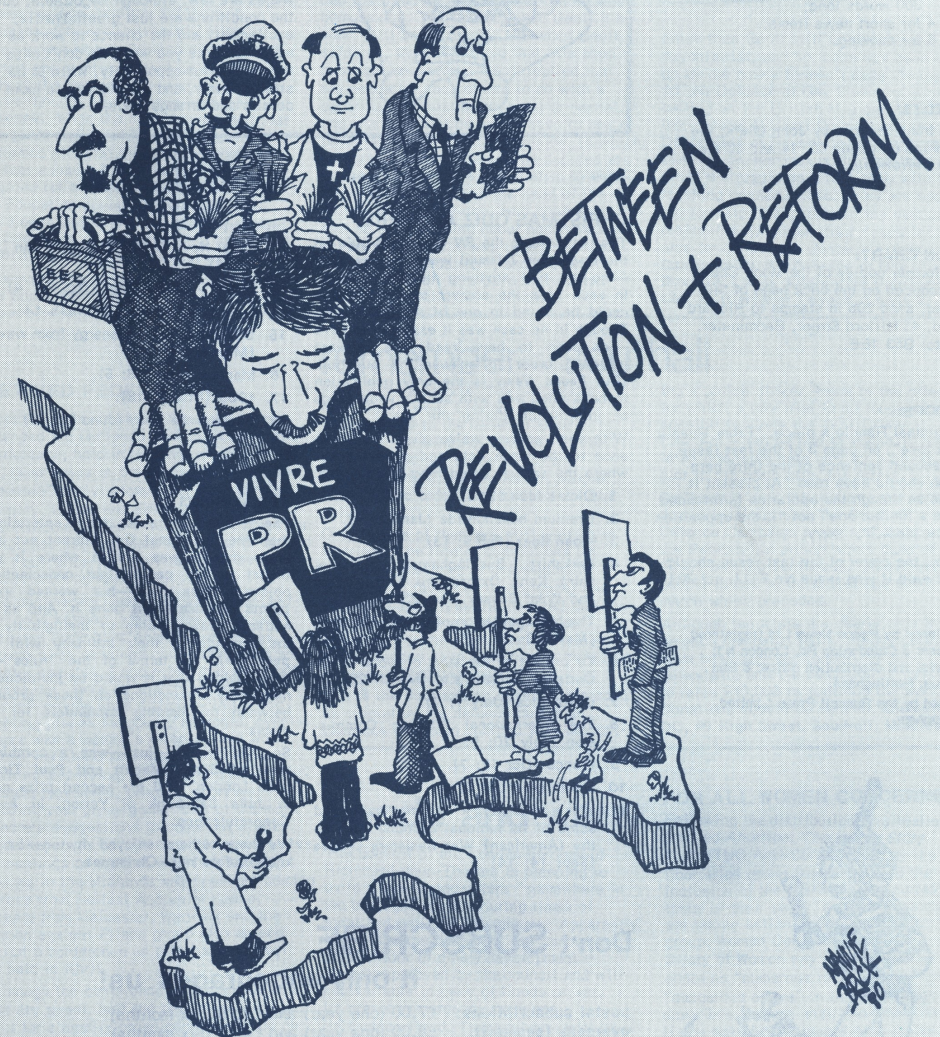


peace news

for nonviolent revolution

No. 2112 Friday 25 January 1980

Fortnightly Price 20p



The tape on the deck is loud and invades the ears and head. It's loud. There's knowledge of its loudness, but it can not be heard. Someone asks for it to be turned down and although there's general agreement, it will not be turned down. The owner of the machine is tight and dark within, and fuses into the darkness around. Her hand finds, in the blackness, the switch and moves it to "off". But now the silence of the room is not what is wanted either so they move from her room to the one upstairs at the back of the house. There's much talk about everyone sleeping together in this room and the one next door, but one woman is even more tense than the others and can stay in that vibrating, tightening air no longer. She went, alone, back down the stairs of the decrepit decaying unloved building to the small room beneath the one where the other woman lay. The heavy weight of the house closed in upon her. The threat which was there pressed itself up her nose, and down her mouth, whilst all the time condensing the sides of her head above the ears, inwards and inwards like the machine in the car scrap yard which turns the saloon into a dense rectangle of jangled metal.

They were becoming more and more edgy and snappy with each other till she too could stand it no longer and left to find the other woman. By the time she found her in the room downstairs, all the others were crowded there as well, and she had to pick her way over the sprawling legs obstructed before her in order to reach her.

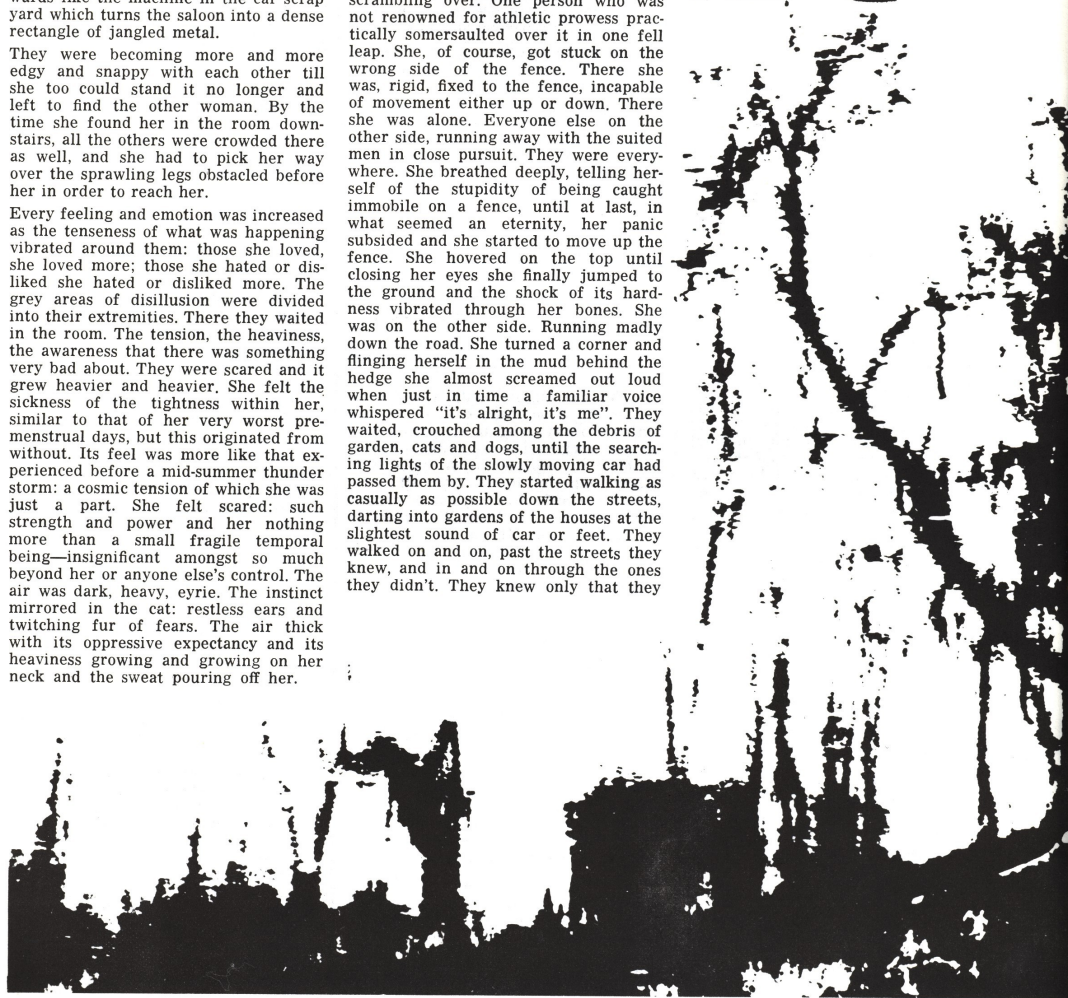
Every feeling and emotion was increased as the tenseness of what was happening vibrated around them: those she loved, she loved more; those she hated or disliked she hated or disliked more. The grey areas of disillusion were divided into their extremities. There they waited in the room. The tension, the heaviness, the awareness that there was something very bad about. They were scared and it grew heavier and heavier. She felt the sickness of the tightness within her, similar to that of her very worst premenstrual days, but this originated from without. Its feel was more like that experienced before a mid-summer thunder storm: a cosmic tension of which she was just a part. She felt scared: such strength and power and her nothing more than a small fragile temporal being—insignificant amongst so much beyond her or anyone else's control. The air was dark, heavy, eerie. The instinct mirrored in the cat: restless ears and twitching fur of fears. The air thick with its oppressive expectancy and its heaviness growing and growing on her neck and the sweat pouring off her.

The inevitableness of the knock still made them jump, and like rats in the cage of their small room they pushed and shoved each other as someone opened the door to the suited men outside. The men stood there, confident in their State cocooned suits, all except one, who with his long fair hair futilely hiding his face, covered to the side of the door. He who had sat in their rooms, drunk and smoked, and with some had laid: he had betrayed them. The man at the front of the group gave the usual warning of wanting no trouble and requested five people to go with him. The player of the tape went with relief towards them and when he had reached the other side of the door, the others standing outside pushed their way in, grabbing whatever bit of body they could grapple their hands around, shouting amongst their abuse that we would all go with them, and muttering the odd phrase about drugs, layabouts, promiscuous politicians and any other derogative they could spit from their teeth. Everyone started running. There was a fence outside and people were madly scrambling over. One person who was not renowned for athletic prowess practically somersaulted over it in one fell leap. She, of course, got stuck on the wrong side of the fence. There she was, rigid, fixed to the fence, incapable of movement either up or down. There she was alone. Everyone else on the other side, running away with the suited men in close pursuit. They were everywhere. She breathed deeply, telling herself of the stupidity of being caught immobile on a fence, until at last, in what seemed an eternity, her panic subsided and she started to move up the fence. She hovered on the top until closing her eyes she finally jumped to the ground and the shock of its hardness vibrated through her bones. She was on the other side. Running madly down the road. She turned a corner and flinging herself in the mud behind the hedge she almost screamed out loud when just in time a familiar voice whispered "it's alright, it's me". They waited, crouched among the debris of garden, cats and dogs, until the searching lights of the slowly moving car had passed them by. They started walking as casually as possible down the streets, darting into gardens of the houses at the slightest sound of car or feet. They walked on and on, past the streets they knew, and in and on through the ones they didn't. They knew only that they

were heading north, and that somewhere they must meet up with the others.

It had been a good hour since the last searching car had crawled by them and the sky to the right was slowly growing light. The early morning mist lay over the field like the floating islands of the Arthurian tales. She wanted to sleep and rest her tired body, but her brain was speeding and racing around itself in its feeble effort to understand the night. They would walk for what seemed like ages in silence, and then one would mutter in amazement the latest thought going through her head, and without further explanation the other would make some comment or other. They knew that finally they would have to find some shelter and sleep for a while, but she knew she would get cold and the blood and life would leave her fingers and toes until the numbness

AIR ~



would prevent feeling. If only her head could go numb.

Feeling so small and inadequate, unsure even of her own existence. Would any one notice whether she were there or not. She was incapable of survival in this land of make-shift shelter. She knew again the unpreparedness of her life for this, surely inevitable, situation where the skills of the "outdoors" beyond the urban were as alien to her as that of the weightlessness of the people on the moon. Her hands and feet blue with cold, her body slowed down to the metabolism of sleep. Sleep which was constantly denied her. She zombied her way through the persistent crowds of people looking for somewhere, anywhere, where she could spend just an hour on her own. She was one cry of need of warmth, sleep and space. Her suggestions she felt to be dismissed, as were

a short story by
Jacqueline Brine

her actions. If not dismissed they were, ever worse, ignored. She stopped making any and the vicious circle began. All so reminiscent of previous periods in her life where she had believed herself to be the epitome of an inadequate, incompetent and thoroughly useless being. "Is it the way I talk? That it's not said with any conviction? Is it the level of my voice, not loud enough? Or is it just that what I'm saying isn't worth listening to anyway?" So many times it seemed like she was talked over, sharply criticised or ignored, resulting in this doubt of her existence. The pain of the realisation that those with the loudest voices (both in the micro and the macro) determine the course of action. Loudness, not just in terms of pitch and volume, but also in terms of authority and confidence. Some of the people with the quietest noise level were listened to eagerly and their suggestions often accepted without question simply because they spoke in a way which said so clearly that they were used to being listened to and acted upon. She was thoroughly silenced: she could neither contradict or agree. She sat or stood in the group with her mind whirling inwards in its hurt and confusion and rapidity of thought. She went with the crowd because she could not voice her own thoughts or feelings: this was no place for dissimulation of varying views: it was not a cosy meeting some place—it was a confrontation situation which required a similar degree of orthodoxy to that experienced in any large militant force of people, whether they be in agreement with the State or not. Much had, at length, been talked about, regarding the decision making of small groups which would ensure that every individual would not only have the right, but also the ability, to participate in the decision making of the action. Those who did participate in this would never believe that others, members of their own group, would be oppressed by the situation and by them.

She welcomed the opportunity for a small group action outside that of the masses, structured within clearly defined limits. She spent the night with two other women wrapped in the womb of the van. She woke with the heaviness of the day upon her and in her ears the sound of many angry dogs barking. Looking through the windscreen of the van she saw them, there, outside: dogs, horses, motor-bikes, tanks; all the paraphernalia of the State—the police and the army and their aids of control

milling and thronging around them. Tangible tension tingling the skin. What is happening? How do we three contact the hundreds of others? Years and years of paranoid fears. Here. And still the body makes its own demands of hunger and thirst, but first a piss. How? Where? Do they know we're here? Early morning light squints in the eyes. We have lost it—we've lost the small degree of control which for a small small while was ours—when will we ever learn—underestimation not of the forces against us, but of ourselves over and over again.

So many of them, so few of us. All that knowledge and soft-peddled patronising "let's be reasonable and no one will be hurt", before they do what they intended all along and come with force.

They are running, running so futilely fast over the dry and dusty earth out towards the countryside away from the barren land of the city's suburb littered with dead mechanical debris reflecting the light of the sky beaming down in its intense cold heat and outlining all in its mocking non-escapable clarity.

Her eyes turned and fixed on the blueness of the sky and the yellow aeroplane glimmering, hovering, beautifully above. The blueness of the sky and the yellow of the aircraft were of a purity quite unimaginable and unreproducible: all the colour in a life-time was there in that moment when everything, it seemed—her, the women around her, the aircraft—stopped. Beauty and pain, both there in the inevitableness of the second before . . . before . . . None of them had experienced it yet everyone knew what it would be, and equally everyone knew they could not, would not, run any further: there they stood, each one so predictably alone in that interminable second: all eyes on that one solitary metallic hovering object above them. There is something almost ironically perverse in trying to stop the falling precious plate from breaking on the floor, or the bewildered pedestrian from walking into the speeding car: we might try, but there is a split moment when we realise the futility of our action in contrast to the inevitability of what is happening and we are compelled to watch, until when over we can scream, run or act in some way, but for that merest fraction of a second we are silenced and frozen within the ultimate speck of time.

It happened. Burning heat of earth cooking skin of face. Dry Hot Air. Caustic in lungs. Throat contracting. Gasping withered air. Gut dislodged in genitals. Warmth of piss and blood. Burnt eyes. Colours. Colours. Colours. Eyes on mushroom skies.

UNFREE AND UNFAIR IN ZIMBABWE

peace news

for nonviolent revolution

No. 2113 Friday 8 February 1980

Fortnightly Price 20p

civil rights and u.s. radicalism

israel and jewish identity

scotland's languages

child slave labour



SCOTS

~LANGUAGE OR DIALECT?

Native Scots today speak English, Scots or Gaelic. Most of us have some ability in more than one of those. For a few that may mean knowledge of Gaelic and English, but for most it will mean some knowledge of Scots and English. Look at it by "territories". 1) The English language holds no "territory" in Scotland. 2) The Gaelic language is spoken in the Western Isles, to varying intensity in the Inner Isles, and in patches up and down the western seaboard. 3) The Scots language is spoken to the east, south and north of the area known vaguely as "The Highlands". 4) That part of "The Highlands" in which Gaelic is not the majority language is the "territory" of "Highland English".

Now look at it by social classes. 1) The English language is the language of the upper classes—that is the aristocracy, the upper middle class and the middle class. English is not a territorial language. It is nowhere the language of a whole community but only of a class in the community. That class is: a) largely foreign to the life of the community, b) a distinct minority of the population and c) has a distinct monopoly of the power. English is the language of power and authority, of social climbing and snobbery. But the English spoken by the Scottish upper classes is not the English spoken by their social equals in England. The Scottish upper classes speak Scottish Standard English which is a hybrid form of Scots and English. Even the staunchest Tories in Scotland pride themselves that a loch is a loch is a loch. And that's only the most obvious of the Scotticisms. The strength of Scottish Standard English—that is the intensity of Scots-derived words, phrases and forms, and the strength and/or the Scottishness of the accent—increases as you go down the social scale *within* the upper classes. What may seem to working class folk to be a posh accent, may well seem to upper-middle class folk "common", bad or "frightful". It is a symptom of our national status that these are synonyms for "Scottish". 2) Scots or Gaelic or "Highland English" are the language, in their respective "territories", of the lower classes—the overwhelming majority of the population.

It is these classes which give their culture to the community. If you sound "Glesca"—ie if you sound Glaswegian—it means you sound as if you're working class or lower-middle class Glaswegian. If you're upper class you'll be taken for English, and if you're a wee bit down the ladder you'll be thought "west of Scotland somewhere" but nobody would be able to place you.

Local, territorial, community culture is the property of the "lower classes". The two are inseparable. History has operated on the class structure of Scotland just as it did on the class structure of every "British" colony—the higher up you are, the more you look to the dominant nationality for your culture and identity.

LANGUAGE OR DIALECT

In any colonial situation the native speech becomes a badge of social, cultural, economic and political inferiority. It is despised, it ceases to be used for "official", "important" or statusful purposes, and it may break down into its component parts—its dialects. The standard form will then be lost and variant forms will emerge. The linguistic "integrity" of the language is infringed and it becomes indistinguishable from "slang". Is this just making an excuse for saying that Scots dialects form a separate language while English dialects are simply part of the English language? I'll try to show you why that assessment is wrong.

Firstly, such an assessment is based on an (imperial-inspired) misconception about languages, cultures and nations. Nationalism in the 19th century in Europe, faced with a world of empires, became a mirror-image of imperialism. Where the empire had one God, one Church, one Crown, one language, one culture, one ethnically pure and original people, and one definable state, its breakaway had to have the independent equivalents or it would not have felt confident about its own status and identity.

From such attitudes, the belief in linguistically pure and "original" languages derives. It is analogous with notions of racial purity.



1) The Gaelic area is based on 50% Gaelic speaking parishes.
2) The Scots (shaded) dialects are taken from the Scottish National Dictionary

In fact all languages and all peoples are developments (and continuing developments) on earlier languages and earlier peoples. We are all part of historical development, and we exert a conscious influence on it. All regions and provinces are embryonic nations; all dialects and variant forms of speech are embryonic languages. All of them are equally capable of development into nations and languages given the right circumstances. But this doesn't happen "naturally"—ultimately a dialect becomes a nation, because of a change in the consciousness of the people of that dialect or that region. Any region of England may assert such an identity, create such a nation and such a language, but they cannot if they see themselves as English. The Yorkish must become Yorkish in consciousness before Yorkland and the Yorkish language can develop.

Scotland and the Scots language fought those battles many centuries ago and asserted the independent fruits of them for hundreds of years. Our case rests in history and in the (historical) Scottish national identity.

THE HISTORICAL POSITION

The earliest known language of our ancestors was Old British (or a Gaulish variant) and its legitimate representative is modern Welsh.

Gaelic was the language of the Irish and was introduced to the new country with the Irish colony founded circa 500AD.

"Scots" (originally Anglian) was introduced by the Anglian settlements in the Lothian and Borders area circa 600AD.

The Anglian (Scots) language was not distinct from Northern English, but Northern English was the language of the Angles and was distinct from the language of the Saxons—Southern English—from which the English language is descended. As England became centralised and feudalised under the Saxon kings and their Norman inheritors, Saxon Southern English became the Standard English and Anglian Scots, outwith the Saxon jurisdiction, developed into a language of its own. Scots was already a language in its own right in the 15th century.

THE GAELIC ASCENDANCY

But the rise of Scots, ironically, could not have happened without the Gaelic Ascendancy which preceded it. It was the assimilation of the Picts into the Gaelic culture, and the elimination of their British language and separate existence, which assembled the pieces of what became Scotland, but it was the Scots-speaking culture which moulded the pieces into a nation-state.

The influence of the Irish Christian Church, the mutual threat of Norse attacks, and the resulting dynastic inter-marriage, brought about the political unification of the Irish (Scots) and the Picts. The myth that later Scots were descended from the Irish colony *exclusively* was built up to tie the dominant Irish derived monarchy to its people, and to tie that people to its Irish culture.

Gaelic Scotland's invasions of Anglian Lothian (whose inhabitants were not exclusively Anglian as the number of British place-names show) and the alliance with British Strathclyde against the Saxon-led English, brought about the gradual incorporation of Lothian and Strathclyde under Gaelic hegemony. But the Anglian tongue remained in Lothian, and as late as the middle 1100s the Scottish Crown was referring to the people of Strathclyde as Walenses (Welsh) and passed a kind of community relations legislation—the "Leges inter Brettos et Scottos". Though Gaelic superseded British in much of Strathclyde, it was the Anglian Inglis (Scots) that forged the national identity.

THE SCOTS ASCENDANCY

The Anglo-Normans and their English followers opened up Ireland and Wales to feudal organisation and the development of towns and trade by means of foreign English conquest, and they spread in the conquered territory the Saxon English language. English and commercial development went together.

But in Scotland, where the country was more coherently organised as a result of the Gaelic conquests, and where there was a recognised single authority in the shape of the Scottish Crown (no such Irish or Welsh equivalent existed), and where there existed an independent anglian language intelligible to Angles, Saxons, Danes, Dutch and Flemings—all of whom spoke related tongues, and many of whom were in the forefront of the new economic and social developments—it was possible to introduce the new society independently. The Scottish Kings, converts to the new Scots language, introduced Anglo-Normans and their commercial fellow-travellers to recognise the economic, social and political order. The role played by English in Ireland and Wales was played by the Scots language in Scotland. Scots was the language of trade and towns and of feudal retainers. Scotland retained her independence where others lost theirs because she developed herself while she still had time. The King's Scots was identified with the first real Scottish State, and the Irish language, Gaelic, was pushed into less accessible areas. When later Scots looked back on a golden age it was to this Scots-speaking centralised state that they looked, to the time of the Alexanders—"Quhen Alexander our kynge was dede . . . Our golde was changit into lede". The English occupation which followed was

thrown off in Wars of Independence fought by a largely Scots-speaking peasantry in the name of a Scots-speaking State.

By the 15th century the Scots language had established a line of march with Gaelic that was to remain largely unchanged until the end of the 18th century and the ascendancy of the English. Scots was the language of the East and South of Scotland—with the exception of an archaic pocket in the Galloway hills where Gaelic died out in the 1600s—and had long since colonised the Moray Coast, Caithness, Orkney and Shetland. And with the joint project against the Gaels under the Union of the Crowns it was also exported to North-East Ireland.



THE ENGLISH ASCENDANCY

The Union of the Crowns introduced the King's English to all official material, emanating as it now did from London. The inability of Scotland—lacking independent central direction—to compete in the race for Capitalism as she had in the race for Feudalism and mercantile development, brought about the Union of 1707. The loss of the independent Scottish State brought in the English language.

Owing to the nature of its relationship to Scots, English attacked Scots differently from Gaelic. Scots could be easily assimilated into English by castigating it as degenerate English just as Occitain was treated as degenerate French, Catalan as degenerate Castilian etc. By contrast, English treated Gaelic as a different language which had to be driven out. So while Scots was driven down the social scale and restricted in its usage, Gaelic was driven back territorially.

Where English replaced Scots among the higher social classes and the educated, it developed into Scottish Standard English. Where English replaced Gaelic it developed into "Highland English" the form of English spoken in formerly Gaelic speaking areas, and originated in the English of bi-lingual Gaelic speakers. But this is a very recent development as the accompanying maps will show. Consequently it is an unstable development.

A MULTI-LINGUAL SCOTLAND

Increasing interest has been shown in recent years in the language question in Scotland. The general rise in national feeling, as distinct from its more political counterpart, has been the major factor in this. But Scottish Nationalism has more often been identified with indus-

trial lowland culture than the Gaelic culture. In the decades since the war Scottish Nationalism has even tended to abandon its interest in cultural matters altogether—so that the Scots language has not been of great interest in nationalist politics. The Scots Language Society failed to get an answer from the SNP when it wrote in 1977 to ask about its policy on Scots.

But the apparent nearness of self-government (before the referendum) spurred on many plans in Scotland, not least of which was the consideration of language policies. Among the champions of both the Gaelic and Scots languages there is acceptance of the need for a combined Tri-Lingual policy.

The situation is not, however, as clear-cut as I have put it. For instance, none of the languages can be tied down solely to the "territories" that I have given them for the purposes of exposition in this article. Gaelic, especially, has a wide cultural significance for Scots of whatever region and whatever language. Some people try to learn Gaelic in their spare time in order to better understand their cultural heritage, and there is a section of nationalist opinion which makes a particular point of this kind of thing.

But that has the unfortunate effect of deflecting attention away from Scots, and there has grown up a fringe group of nationalists who accept English propaganda that Scots is bastard English. These people, most of whom can't speak Gaelic, seek to save their identity crises (we all have them) by pretending that they are Gaels. The Pretend-Gaels demand that we all speak Gaelic and create a one language state à la 19th century dogma in which our true national language (hmm!) will restore our national soul and turn us all back into true Scots. Linguistic racism, this, and no mistake! Readers of this article will have seen that fact is not what the theory is founded on.

The real Gaelic cause is being carried on by the Gaelic speaking people themselves in the shape of organisations such as the Federation of Gaelic Working Parties, Fir Chlis (theatre group), the bi-lingual projects in the Western Isles and many others. It is they who will win the day for Gaelic. But there should be no complacency here, for the famous 1971 Census results which gave the first ever increase in figures for Gaelic speaking this century are widely suspected as being swollen by over zealous learners declaring their ability.

Meantime work on the possibilities for the Scots language goes on apace. By the time we really do get Self-Government—and be in no doubt that it will happen and sooner than some folk care to think—we should be able to look forward to a Scotland of three official languages—Scottish Standard English, Standard Scottish Gaelic and a new Standard Scots. But none of that is possible—indeed no future for the language is likely—under the unitary British (English Language) State. But what a future it could be in a multi-lingual Scotland! In company with Henry Cockburn, the 19th century Edinburgh intellectual, "I am really sorry for the poor one-tongued Englishman."

NORMAN EASTON

Direct Action at Alta p7

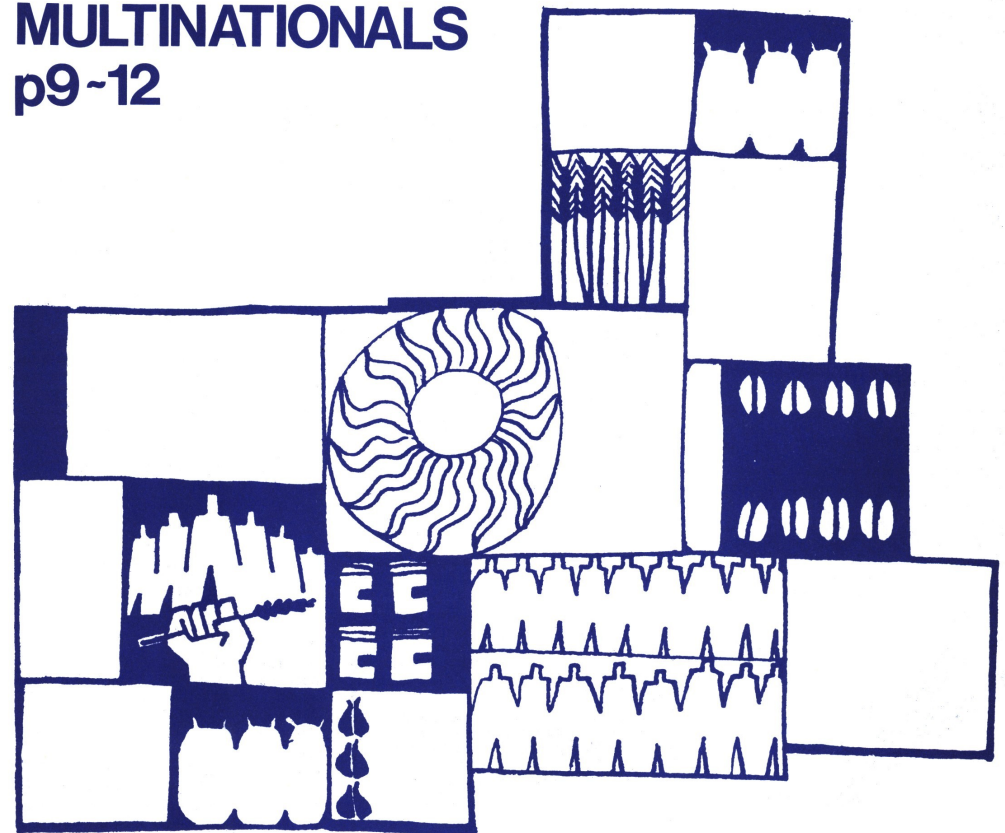
peace news

for nonviolent revolution

No. 2114 Friday 22 February 1980

Fortnightly Price 20p

HEALTH FOODS
AND
MULTINATIONALS
p9-12



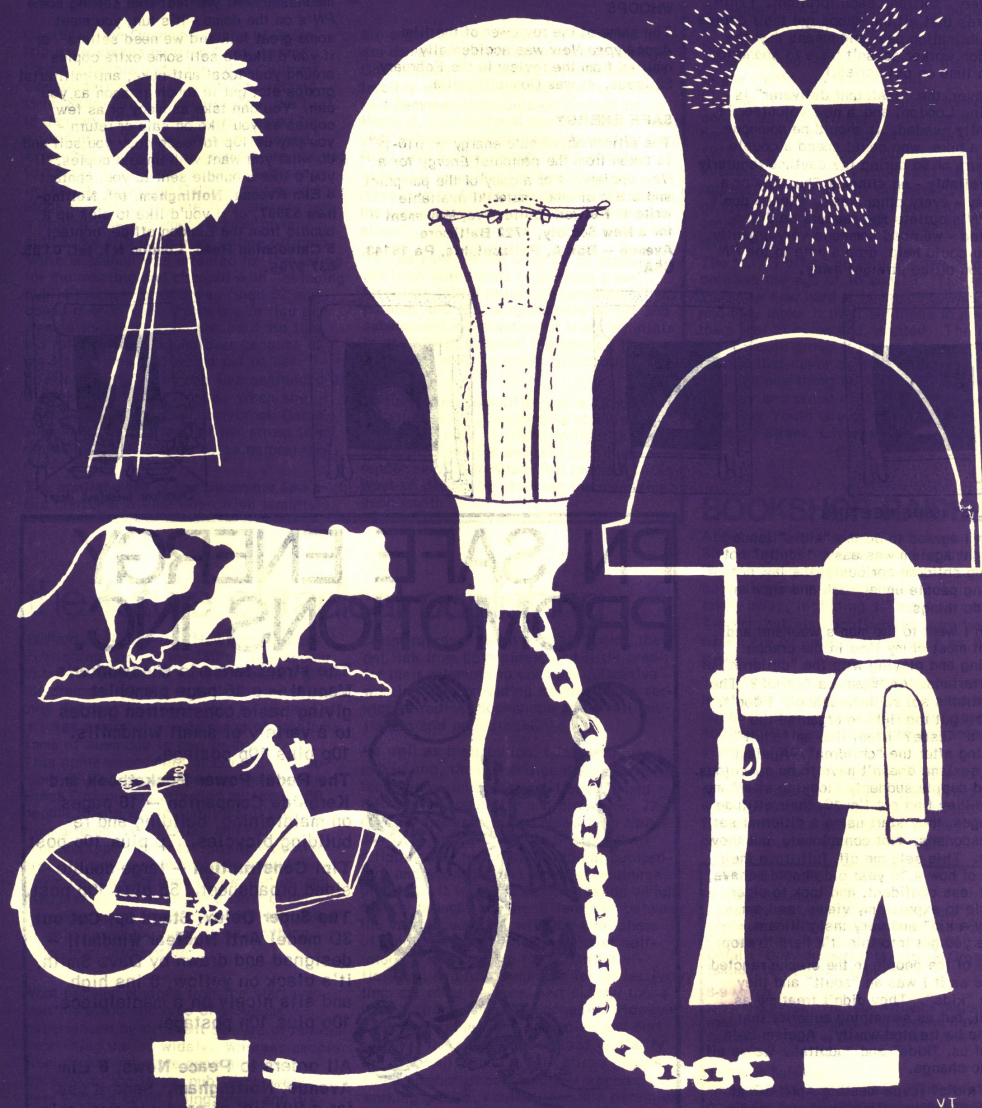
PALESTINE p6 & 16 WAR PREPARATIONS p8

peace news

for nonviolent revolution

No. 2115 Friday 7 March 1980

Fortnightly Price 20p



ENERGY FUTURES P 10-12

Portrait No.1

I was a bastard;
My son is a bastard;
the bastard of a
bastard.

When I was seven, caught wanking
in the convent,
and a nun told me I was
a dirty little girl,
I knew I was paying
for the sins of the father;
(the accident of my parents)
They were visited on me
with a vengeance.

When I was fourteen and
'in care',
I was repeatedly told
that ratepayer's bread was
in my mouth.

My son, in time,
is choking on their
morsels too.

When I was seventeen
and ran away to the east,
I was searching for a father figure
(or so they told me
when I came back).

When I was twenty one
and bore my son
out of wedlock
I was searching to be a
mother figure.
To replace my own
(who was told she couldn't handle it.)
Or so they tried to tell me.

I was a bastard;
My son is a bastard;
Accidents happen.
(Or so they say...)

Whose generosity
do we thrive on now
In the twentieth century?

My son and I?
We are not in Dickens'
workhouse,
But we have no more
control
over the stigmas of society.

We do not starve
(we have milk coupons, my son
and I...)

But we do not grow
fat
on the disregard of
status

by the friends
of the deprived.
We are sacrificed
on the altar of what is
proper

by others' standards;
As examples
of what

THEY
do for
us.

Circumstances were against us,
I am made to believe.

Even by the father of my
son
whom I have seen imagine
he was pinned
onto a survey
delving the history of
illegitimacy.
THEIR word
not mine.

Accidents happen.
(or so they say with a charitable smile.)

At twenty six, I say:
I am a late developer.

I have had to crack the shell
of institutionalisation,
which inhibited the

SELF, suffocated the kernal of my
autonomous SELF
(which did not
need

the institutions to make decisions
on my behalf):

It was a hard nut.
It has taken years.

Now I
BEGIN

to be free,
and search to teach
my son,
to look for freedom's taste.
Put its taste in an environment
for him.

To neutralize the
harm, the damage done.

Yes, YOU
Welfare State,

you keep us
Alive

But you will not keep us
from being proud and free.

(as the saying goes.)
Accidents happen

(an existentialist view?)
maybe they do;
but now

I
decide.

DEBBIE BREWER



Kaethe Kollwitz

WHY "NO NUKES" IS NOT ENOUGH p12

peace news

for nonviolent revolution

No. 2016 Friday 21 March 1980

Fortnightly Price 20p



ACCEPTING CIVIL DEFENCE? p7

peace news

for nonviolent revolution

No.2117 Friday 4 April 1980

Fortnightly Price 20p



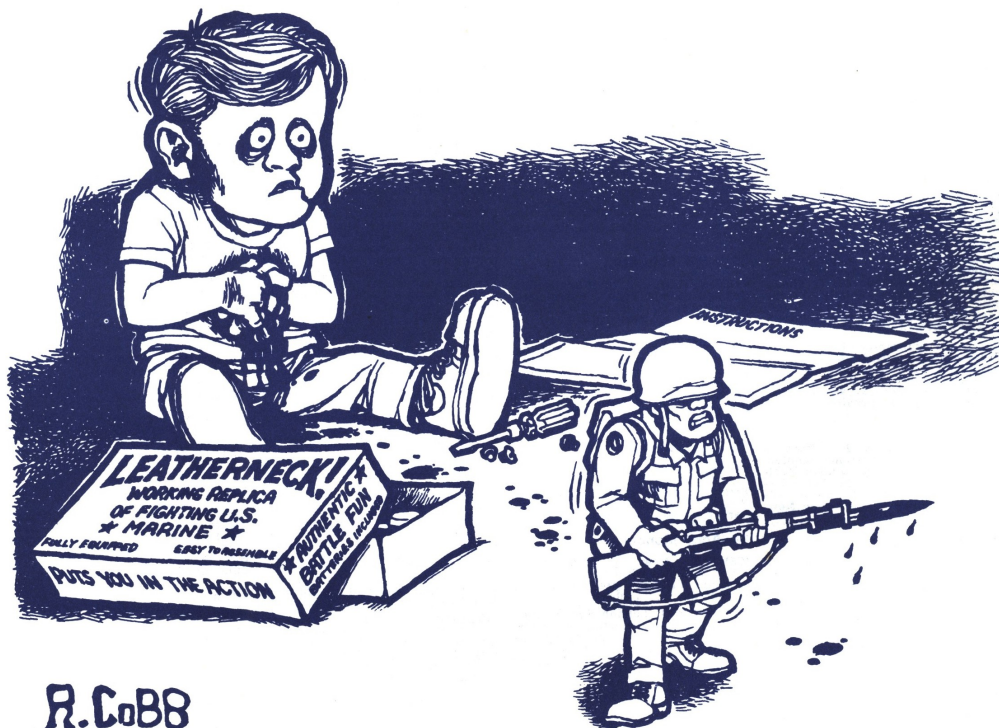
jewish
identity p10

Join the Army; travel to exotic,
distant lands; meet exciting, unusual
people and kill them.

HAVE SOME HANDY

Although the Campaign Against Militarism has set aside Saturday June 7 as Anti-Recruiting Day, make every day an anti-recruiting day. Stickers with the above design (also available with "Join the Navy..." or "Join the RAF..."), white on black, size 9"x 2½", are available from us price 2p each plus postage. 33% discount for orders of over 100 stickers of either design or an assortment.

Money with orders to: PN, 8 ELM AVENUE, NOTTINGHAM



R. CoBB

PROTEST AND SURVIVE p13

peace news

for nonviolent revolution

No. 2118 Friday 18 April 1980

Fortnightly Price 20p



**BREAKING OUT FROM THE GHETTO-
WHAT FUTURE FOR NONVIOLENCE? p9**

IRANIAN PERSPECTIVES

peace news

for nonviolent revolution

No. 2119 Friday 2 May 1980

Fortnightly Price 20p



Fence Cutting at Bangor Base — David Jackman

TRIDENT

into the heart of the nuclear
monster p10

CAMPAIGNING ~ IDEOLOGY OR POPULARITY p8

peace news

for nonviolent revolution

No. 2120 Friday 16 May 1980

Fortnightly Price 20p



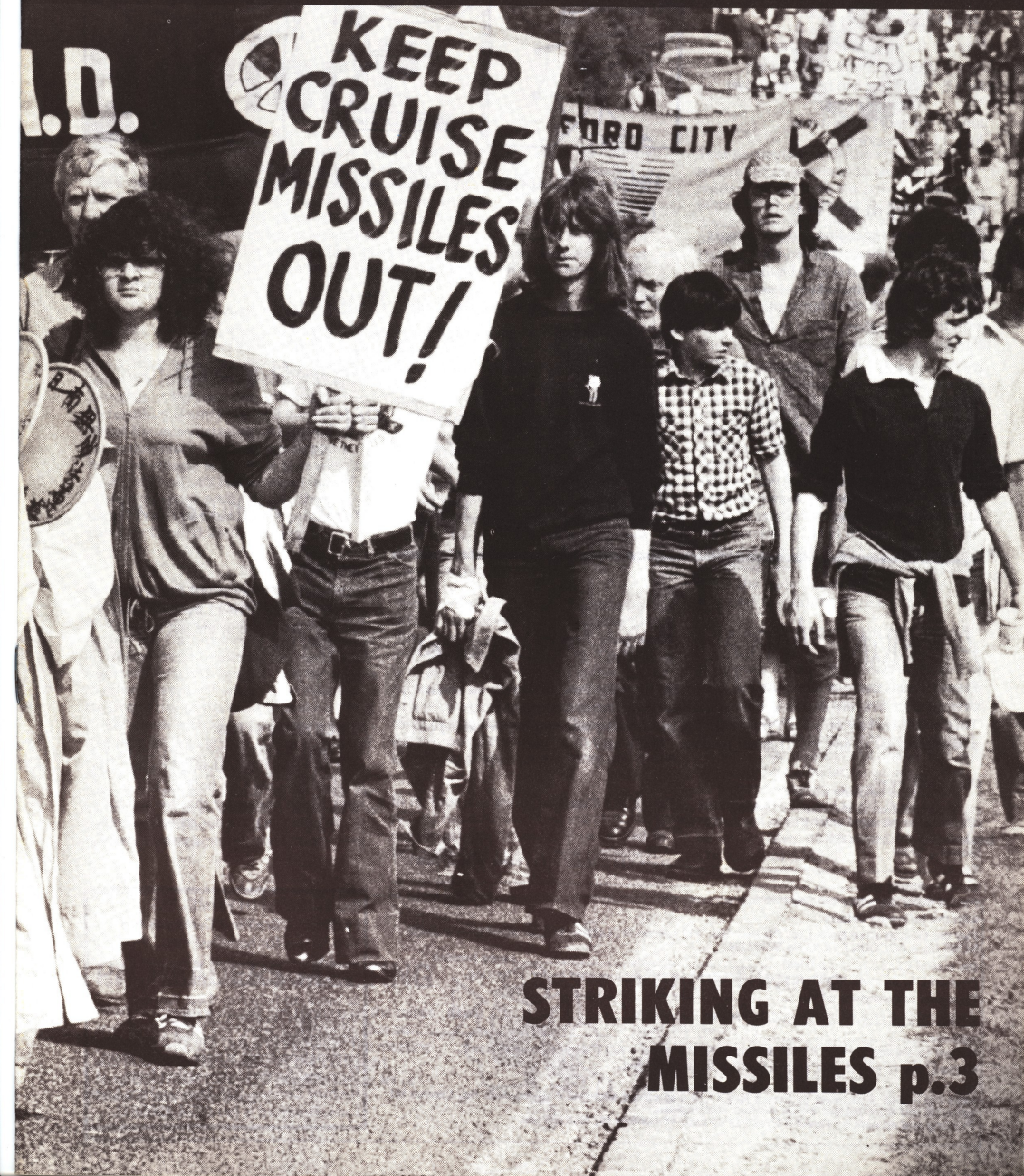
THE FOURTH WORLD p10

peace news

for nonviolent revolution

No. 2121 Friday 30 May 1980

Fortnightly Price 20p



**STRIKING AT THE
MISSILES p.3**

A WHITE FLAG MOVEMENT P9

peace news

for nonviolent revolution

No. 2122 Friday 13 June 1980

Fortnightly Price 20p

RESIST AND SURVIVE



BRICK

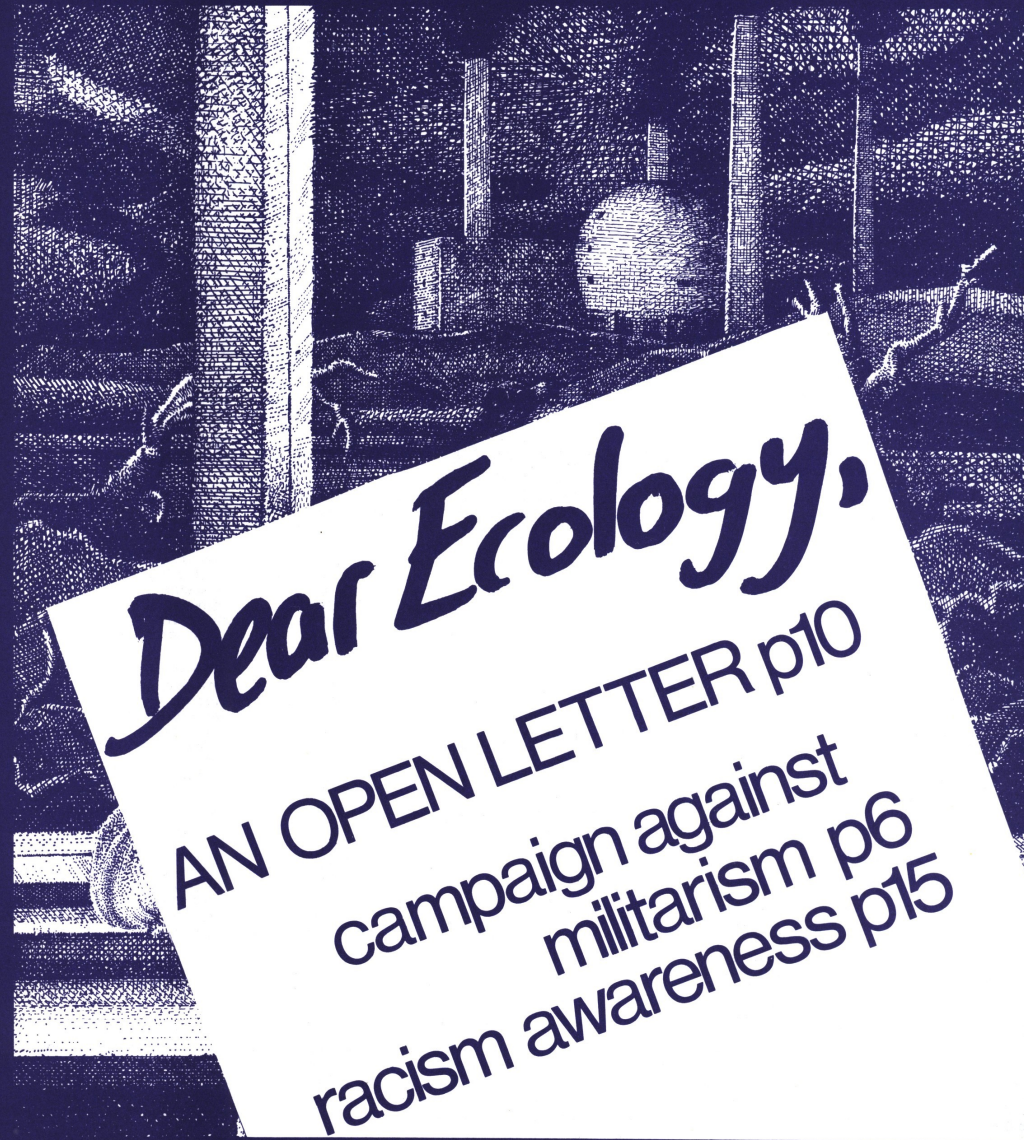
politics of 'humanity' p9

peace news

for nonviolent revolution

No. 2123 Friday 27 June 1980

Fortnightly Price 20p



Dear Ecology,

AN OPEN LETTER p10

campaign against
militarism p6

racism awareness p15

peace news

for nonviolent revolution

No. 2124 Friday 11 July 1980

Fortnightly Price 20p



co-operative politics p14

peace news

for nonviolent revolution

No. 2125 Friday 25 July 1980

Fortnightly Price 20p



WASTE NO MORE OUR LIVES!

On August 6, 1945, the atomic bomb claimed its first victims. Thirty-five years may make us weary of anniversaries. But Hiroshima Day will be remembered as long as there is anyone to remember it. One day, it could be remembered as the start of a struggle that removed all the forces of destruction from this planet.

EMPLOYMENT BILL p7

peace news

for nonviolent revolution

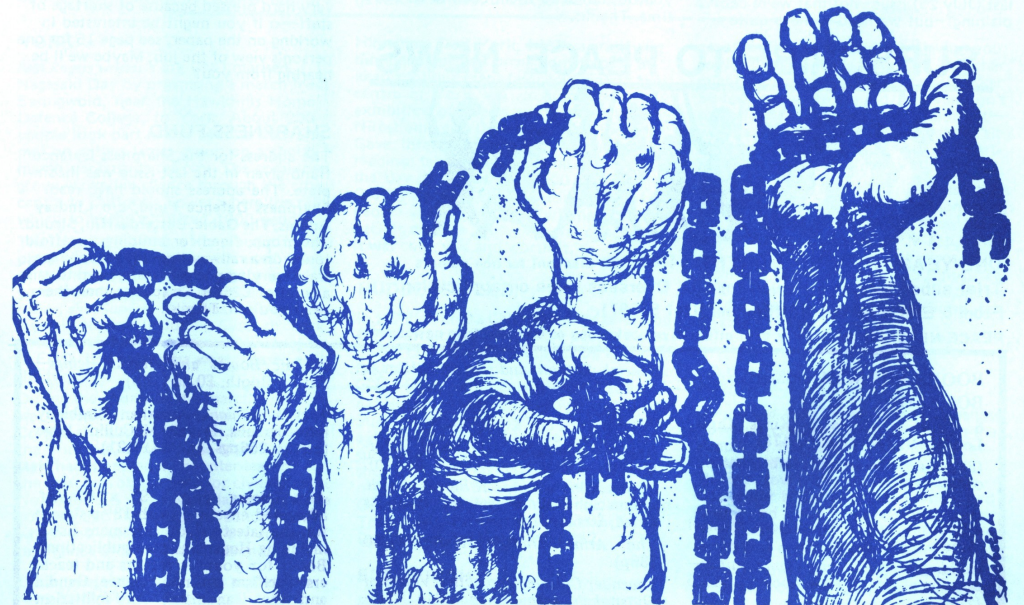
No. 2125 Friday 22 August 1980

Fortnightly Price 20p

WOMEN FOR PEACE p8

REPRESSION & MILITARISM p10

N. EUROPEAN IMPERIALISM p13



free a bunker on page 12!

peace news

for nonviolent revolution

No. 2127 Friday 5 September 1980

Fortnightly Price 20p



WHITHER LEFT POLITICS? pg 9

LIVING IN BELFAST pg13

peace news

for nonviolent revolution

No. 2128 Friday 19 September 1980

Fortnightly Price 20p

Death as a
Friend



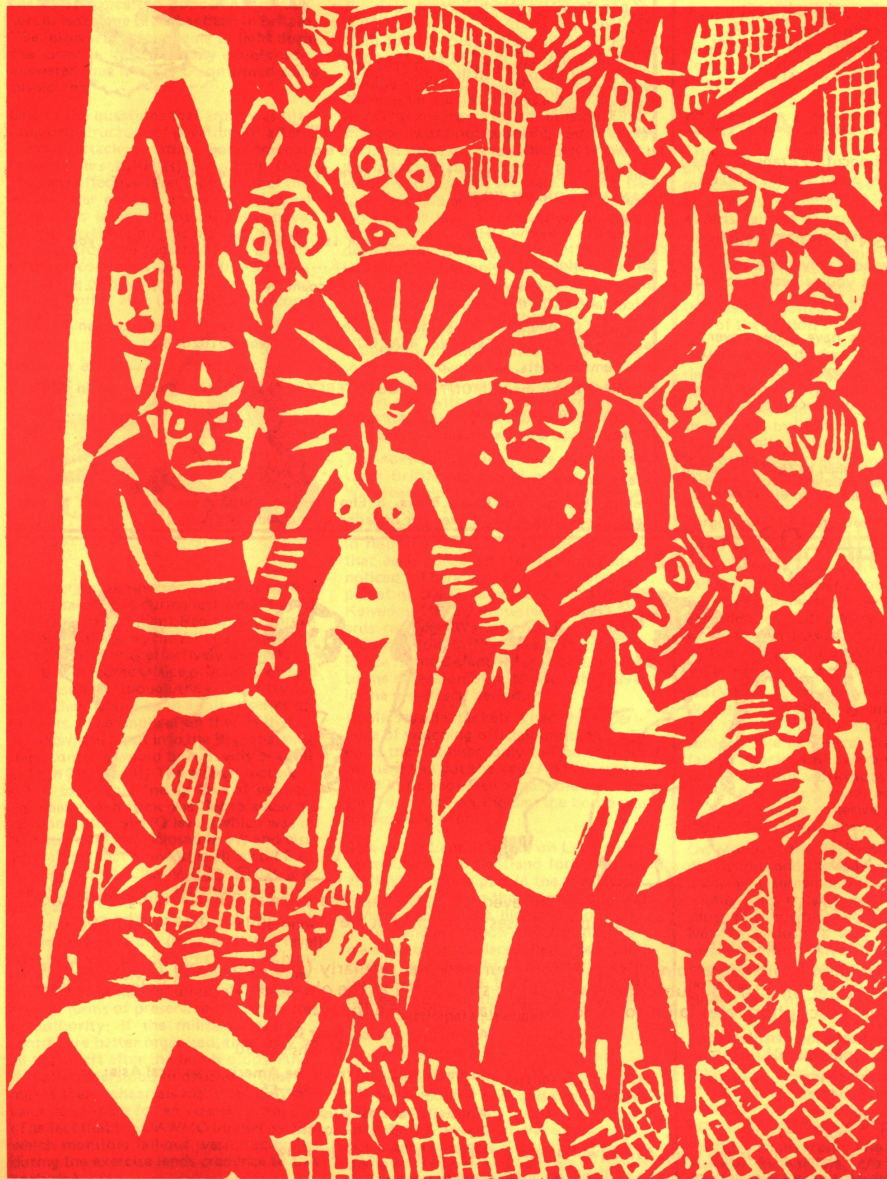
politics of suicide pg10

peace news

for nonviolent revolution

No. 2129 Friday 3 October 1980

Fortnightly Price 20p



RAPE: THE MALE CLUB pg10

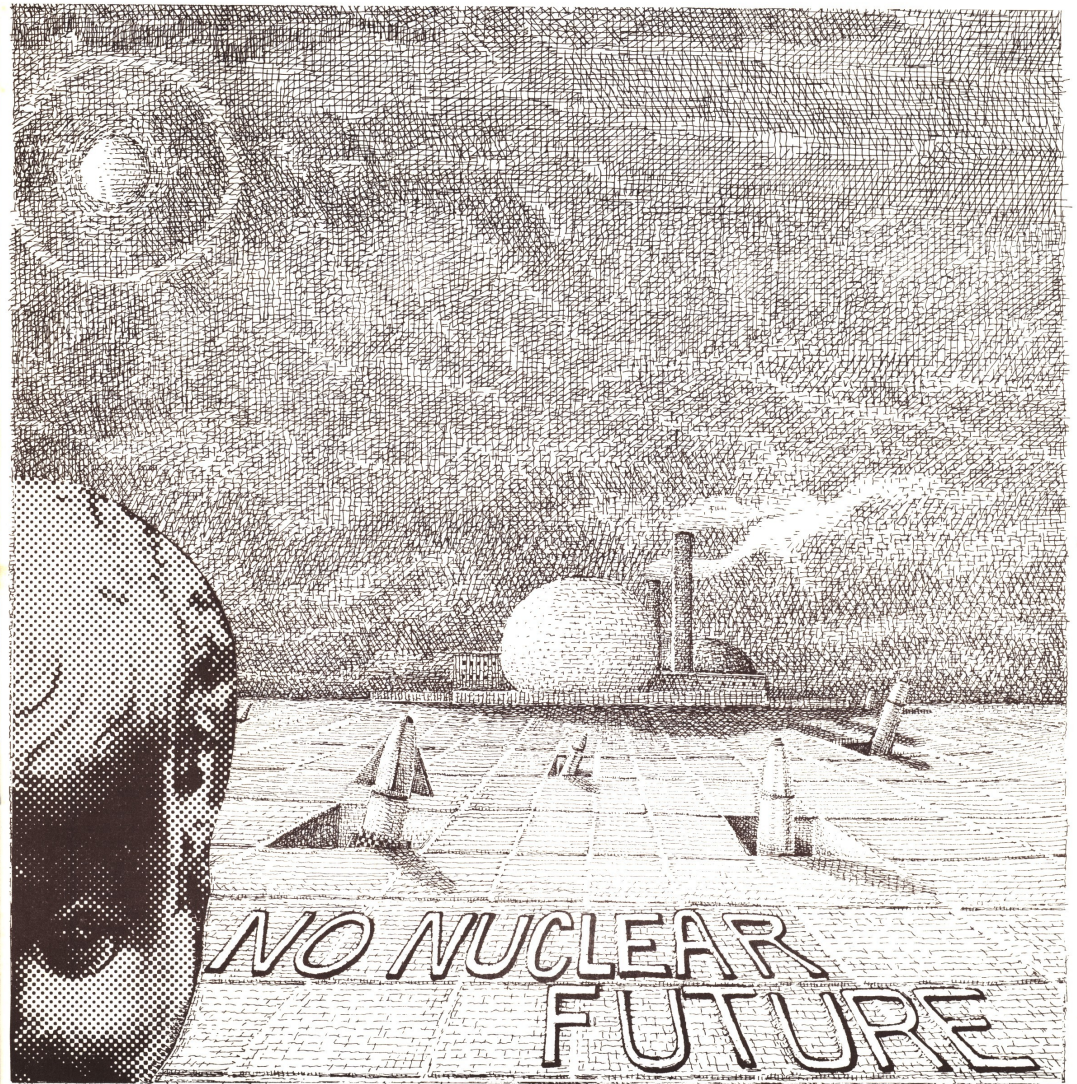
special issue: NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT

peace news

for nonviolent revolution

No. 2130 Friday 17 October 1980

Fortnightly Price 25p



SAW YOU AT THE DEMO? pg3

peace news

for nonviolent revolution

No. 2131 Friday 31 October 1980

Fortnightly 25p



Just and Unjust Wars pg10

Beyond the Fragments pg7

Iran and Nonviolence pg9

nuclear pollution pg8
peace news
for nonviolent revolution

No. 2132 Friday 14 November 1980

Fortnightly Price 25p



© 1980 RECORD ALL RIGHTS RESERVED

natural peoples, marx,
and european culture pg10

ELLSBERG COUNTS DOWN pg 10

peace news

for nonviolent revolution

No. 2133 Friday 28 November 1980

Fortnightly 25p



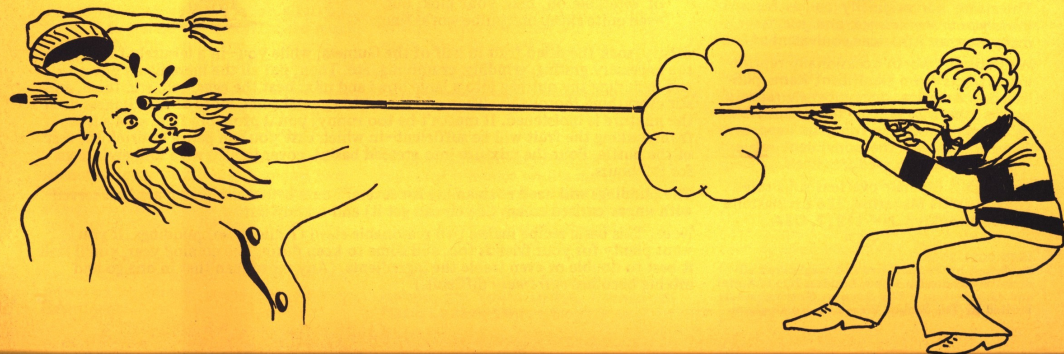
war toys pg 8



energy radicals
retreat pg 13



blanket status pg 6



DOUBLE ISSUE
peace news
for nonviolent revolution

Nos. 2134-35 12 & 26 December 1980



50p

Interview with Johan Galtung pg10

peace news

for nonviolent revolution

No. 2136 Friday 9 January 1981

Fortnightly Price 25p

Women Against Violence
Against Women pg6



Britain's Existing
Nuclear Armoury pg 8



Campaign Against
Public Morals pgs 3 & 13

